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1. S.S.

TITLE

SPAIN: WESTERN SAHARA

(FORMERLY SPANISH SAHARA)

6TH MARCH 1979



935/28/2-2C

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PT3

ARCHIVAL ACTION

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Department of Foreign Affairs

File Number

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

935/2812

O.UN15764 DFAN
TOR 1320 31.10.79

O.UN15764 2030 30.10.79 UNC

TO.
II CANBERRA/5085

FM. UN NEW YORK / FILE 103/3/4 412/1 REF O.UN15649

U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

(ATTACHED IS TEXT OF O.UN15764)

AC. MR.LAMB (IO) ADVISED 31/1355.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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TOR 1320 31.10.79

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TO.
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U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA
(TAKE IN TEXT OF O.UN15764)

C. UN 5764 2030 30.10.79 UNC

TO: 11 CANBERRA/5085

FROM: UNNY

FILE: 103/3/4 412/1

REF: D. UN 15649

U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

WE HAVE RECEIVED EARLY COPY OF AMENDED TEXT WHICH IS IN FRENCH.

2. CHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE TO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 7 AND TO OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS 1, 6 AND 7.

L'Assemblée générale,

① Ayant examiné de manière approfondie la question du Sahara occidental, ✓

Rappelant le droit inaliénable de tous les peuples à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance conformément aux principes contenus dans la Charte des Nations Unies et dans sa résolution 1514 (XV) du 14 décembre 1960 portant Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux, ✓

③ Ayant examiné le chapitre pertinent du rapport du Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux 1/, ✓

.../2

4 Ayant entendu les déclarations relatives à la question du Sahara occidental, y compris celle du représentant du Frente popular para la liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (F. POLISARIO),

5 Ayant à l'esprit la profonde préoccupation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et des pays non-alignés en ce qui concerne la décolonisation du Sahara occidental et le droit à l'autodétermination du peuple de ce territoire,

6 Rappelant sa résolution 33/27 du 1er décembre 1978, relative à la coopération entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies et l'Organisation de l'unité africaine,

7 Prenant acte de la décision de la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine à sa seizième session ordinaire tenue à Monrovia du 17 au 20 juillet 1979 2/ par laquelle cette Conférence a adopté les recommandations du Comité ad hoc de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine relatives à la question du Sahara occidental,

8 Prenant acte également de l'accord de paix conclu entre la République islamique de Mauritanie et le Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (F. POLISARIO) en date du 5 août 1979 3/ et de la décision de la République islamique de Mauritanie de retirer ses forces du Sahara occidental 4/,

2/ - A/34/552, annexe III, décision AHG/Déc.114 (XVI)

3/ - A/34/427 - S/13503, annexe 1

4/ - IBID, annexe II

.../3

Consciente de la vive préoccupation de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et des pays non-alignés devant l'aggravation de la situation qui prévaut au Sahara occidental du fait de la persistance et de l'extension de l'occupation de ce territoire,

Rappelant les paragraphes relatifs à la question du Sahara occidental contenus dans la Déclaration politique adoptée par la sixième Conférence des Chefs d'Etat ou de Gouvernement des pays non-alignés, tenue à la Havane du 3 au 9 septembre 1979 5/,

1. Réaffirme le droit inaliénable du peuple du Sahara occidental à l'autodétermination et à l'indépendance conformément à la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, à celle de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et aux objectifs de la résolution 1514 (XV) de l'Assemblée générale, ainsi que la légitimité de la lutte qu'il mène pour obtenir la jouissance de ce droit comme le prévoient les résolutions pertinentes des Nations Unies et de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine ;

2. Prend acte avec satisfaction de la décision adoptée par la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine à sa seizième session ordinaire tenue à Monrovia sur la question du Sahara occidental ;

3. Prend également acte avec satisfaction de la déclaration pertinente de la sixième Conférence des Chefs d'Etat ou de Gouvernement des Pays non-alignés relative à la question du Sahara occidental ;

4. Se félicite de l'accord de paix conclu entre la République islamique de Mauritanie et le Frente popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (F. POLISARIO) et considère que cet accord constitue une importante contribution à la dynamique de paix en vue d'un règlement définitif, juste et durable de la question du Sahara occidental ;

5. Déplore vivement l'aggravation de la situation, découlant de la persistance de l'occupation du Sahara occidental par le Maroc et de l'extension de cette occupation au territoire récemment évacué par la République islamique de Mauritanie ;

6. Demande instamment au Maroc de s'engager lui aussi dans la dynamique de la Paix et de mettre fin à l'occupation du territoire du Sahara occidental ;

7. Recommande à cet effet que le Frente popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (F. POLISARIO) représentant du peuple du Sahara occidental, participe pleinement à toute recherche d'une solution politique juste, durable et définitive de la question du Sahara occidental, conformément aux résolutions et déclarations de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine et des pays non-alignés ;

8. Prie le Comité spécial chargé d'étudier la situation en ce qui concerne l'application de la Déclaration sur l'octroi de l'indépendance aux pays et aux peuples coloniaux de continuer à examiner la situation dans le Sahara occidental en tant que question prioritaire et de faire rapport à ce sujet à l'Assemblée générale lors de sa trente-cinquième session ;

9. Prie le Secrétaire général de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine de tenir le Secrétaire général de l'Organisation des Nations Unies informé des progrès accomplis au sujet de l'application des décisions de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine relatives au Sahara occidental ;

10. Invite le Secrétaire général à suivre de près la situation au Sahara occidental et à présenter à l'Assemblée générale, à sa trente-cinquième session, un rapport sur la question du Sahara occidental.

ENDS

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

O.CH853923 GDCA

O.CH853923 1751 29.10.79 CLA

TO.
PP UN NEW YORK/9897

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RR WASHINGTON/622 PARIS EMB/7885 ALGIERS/6825

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2 REF O.UN15696 O.CH853641

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34: FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA (UNDERLINED)

WE ARE UNSURE, FROM THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF YOUR O.UN15696, WHETHER IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT THE ALGERIAN DRAFT WILL BE VOTED ON TODAY (29 OCTOBER) - SEE YOUR O.UN15648, AMENDED VERSION.

2. IF A VOTE COMES ON BEFORE YOU CAN REFER THE LATEST TEXT(S) BACK TO US TOGETHER WITH LIKELY VOTING INTENTIONS AND YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS, YOU SHOULD BE GUIDED BY THE CONSIDERATIONS OUTLINED IN O.CH853641.

3. IN THE EVENT OF ONLY AN ALGERIAN TEXT BEING VOTED ON, YOU SHOULD ABSTAIN BUT YOU HAVE DISCRETION TO VOTE IN FAVOUR OF ALL (UNDERLINE ONE) THE MODIFICATIONS IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF O.CH853641 ARE ACHIEVED. IN THIS CASE YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN YOUR VOTE AS FLOWING FROM OUR SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AND EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT BOTH SIDES WILL SEEK A PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. IF YOU ABSTAIN, YOU SHOULD STATE THAT OUR ABSTENTION DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY CHANGE IN AUSTRALIA'S SUPPORT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN WESTERN SAHARA BUT THAT THERE WERE CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE DRAFT WHICH WE COULD NOT SUPPORT.

4. IN DECIDING VOTING IN THE ABOVE CIRCUMSTANCES, YOU WILL NEED TO PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE COMPANY YOU ARE VOTING WITH. IN THE EVENT OF YOUR MOVING TO VOTE FOR THE ALGERIAN DRAFT, WE WOULD EXPECT YOU TO VOTE YES ONLY IN THE COMPANY OF A SELECTION OF AT LEAST FOUR OF AUSTRIA, DENMARK, SWEDEN, NORWAY, CANADA, NEW ZEALAND, USA, NETHERLANDS, UK.

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FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	IL	
FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S		

ACCRA BAGHDAD CAIRO COPENHAGEN DAMASCUS LAGOS LONDON MADRID
NAIROBI OTTAWA STOCKHOLM WELLINGTON

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O.UN15659 BOMA
TOR 1403 25.10.79

O.UN15659 2340 24.10.79 UNC

TO.
PP CANBERRA/4982

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RR JAKARTA/646 TOKYO/293 KUALA LUMPUR/384
RR LISBON/246

FM. UN NEW YORK / FILE 411/3

U N C L A S S I F I E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : EAST TIMOR

IN AFTERNOON SESSION TODAY (24 OCTOBER) JAPAN, PHILIPPINES AND MALAYSIA MADE STATEMENTS ON EAST TIMOR STRONGLY SUPPORTING INDONESIA.

2. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM JAPANESE STATEMENT:

"THE SUDDEN COLLAPSE IN APRIL 1974 OF THE PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION IN EAST TIMOR CREATED A POWER VACUUM WHICH EVENTUALLY LED TO CIVIL WAR AMONG VARIOUS POLITICAL GROUPS AND CAUSED CONSIDERABLE DESTRUCTION AND DEVASTATION TO LIFE AND PROPERTY IN THE TERRITORY. THE ADMINISTERING POWER WAS NOT ABLE TO PREVENT THIS COURSE OF EVENTS, AND THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING SITUATION THERE AROUSED GRAVE CONCERN IN INDONESIA, WHICH SHARES CLOSE GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNIC AND TRADITIONAL TIES WITH EAST TIMOR. INDONESIA WAS THUS OBLIGED TO BECOME DEEPLY INVOLVED IN EAST TIMOR'S DECOLONIZATION PROCESS. IN MAY 1976, THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF EAST TIMOR, FORMED BY SEVERAL POLITICAL GROUPS, NOT INCLUDING FRETELIN, SUBMITTED A FORMAL REQUEST TO THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT THAT EAST TIMOR BECOME INDEPENDENT AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDONESIA. INDONESIA ACCEPTED THIS REQUEST IN JULY 1976....

LAST YEAR WHEN WE DISCUSSED THE SAME QUESTION IN THIS COMMITTEE, WE NOTED THAT THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT WAS GOVERNING THE TERRITORY EFFECTIVELY, AND WE URGED THE COMMITTEE TO TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THIS FACT. MY DELEGATION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE BE ADVANCED. IF THIS YEAR'S DRAFT RESOLUTION FAILS TO REFLECT THE PARTICULAR COURSE OF PREVIOUS EVENTS, AS WELL AS THE REALITY NOW PREVAILING IN EAST TIMOR, MY DELEGATION WILL AGAIN HAVE TO VOTE AGAINST IT.

IN APRIL AND JULY OF THIS YEAR, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND ITS INDONESIAN COUNTERPART CONDUCTED A JOINT SURVEY IN EAST TIMOR WHICH REVEALED THAT ABOUT SIXTY THOUSAND

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PEOPLE LOCATED IN EIGHT MOUNTAINOUS AREAS ARE IN MOST URGENT NEED OF FOOD AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE, AND OF THESE, TWENTY THOUSAND ARE FACING DEATH FROM STARVATION. THEY ARE THE DIRECT VICTIMS OF TURMOIL AND SUCCESSIVE CONFRONTATION. OUR MOST URGENT TASK RIGHT NOW IS TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE EMERGENCY APPEALS MADE BY THE ICRC AND THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS LAST AUGUST. THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN, PROMPTED BY ITS HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR THE SICK AND STARVING PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR, HAS ALREADY MADE A COMMITMENT TO EXTEND ASSISTANCE IN THE AMOUNT OF 100 MILLION YEN. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE SUFFERING SO SEVERELY IN EAST TIMOR MUST BE PROMOTED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ENDEAVOURS SUCH AS THESE. IN THIS CONNECTION, MY DELEGATION ACKNOWLEDGES THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIETY THROUGHOUT EAST TIMOR, AND URGES THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE ITS GENUINE EFFORTS.

MY DELEGATION SINCERELY HOPES THAT WHATEVER DECISION IT MAY TAKE THIS YEAR, THE COMMITTEE WILL GIVE DUE CONSIDERATION TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED FACTORS AND THAT IT WILL GAIN THE COOPERATION OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING INDONESIA. IT SEEMS OBVIOUS TO MY DELEGATION THAT ACrimonious DEBATES IN OUR COMMITTEE WILL NEVER BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. IT IS ONLY THROUGH DISCUSSIONS AMONG REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL PEOPLE CONCERNED THAT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION CAN BE REACHED.

3. MALAYSIAN STATEMENT INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

"MALAYSIA REMAINS CONVINCED THAT THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION OF THIS TERRITORY HAS BEEN COMPLETED IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN RESOLUTION 1514 (XV) AND 1541 (XV) ... ON 31 MAY 1976 THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR OVERWHELMINGLY DECLARED THEIR WISH TO BECOME A PART OF INDONESIA THROUGH INTEGRATION ... THE DECISION ... WAS TAKEN ON THEIR OWN FREE CHOICE THROUGH CONSULTATIONS IN CONFORMITY WITH TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE TERRITORY.

WHAT THE PROVINCE ... NEEDS IS THE MARSHALLING OF ITS ECONOMIC RESOURCES TO ENHANCE THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF ITS INHABITANTS.

MY DELEGATION IS FURTHER SATISFIED THAT CONDITIONS IN MOST OF THE PROVINCE OF EAST TIMOR HAS BEEN BACK TO NORMALCY.

EAST TIMOR IS NO LONGER AN ISSUE AND HENCE SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT OF UNNECESSARY DEBATES IN THE OR IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

4. PHIPPLINES STATED THAT:

"...THERE IS ... NO DENYING THE FACT THAT ON THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR, INDONESIA ACTED WITH SCRUPULOUS REGARD FOR THE

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3-0.UN15659

WISHES OF A GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR.

MY DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THE FOURTH COMMITTEE SHOULD NO LONGER BE SEIZED WITH THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR.

UNTIL THREE YEARS AGO, THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR HAD LIVED IN COLONIAL BONDAGE. THEY HAVE NOW REGAINED THEIR FREEDOM WITHIN THE BODY POLITIC OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA AFTER HAVING EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS 1514 (XV) AND 1541 (XV) ..

... SINCE THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR HAD EXERCISED THEIR SOVEREIGN WILL TO OPT FOR INTEGRATION WITH INDONESIA, THIS COMMITTEE NO LONGER HAS THE COMPETENCE TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR'.

5. MOZAMBIQUE, IN A STATEMENT SHARPLY CRITICAL OF MORROCCO'S ACTIONS IN WESTERN SAHARA AND INDONESIA'S INVERVENTION IN EAST TIMOR CITED "THE MELBOURNE AGENCY" (OUR GUESS IS THAT REFERENCE IS TO THE AGE) AS FOLLOW:

"THE MELBOURNE AGENCY ANNOUNCED ON AUGUST THE 2ND THIS YEAR THAT I QUOTE ...THE AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID HAS ALLEGED WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIAN AID TO EAST TIMOR. AID INTENDED FOR THE RELIEF OF SUFFERING TIMORESE IS BEING MISAPPROPRIATED BY THE INDONESIAN ADMINISTRATION AND USED FOR OTHER PURPOSES. AN AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID REPORT EVEN SUGGEST THAT THE INDONESIAN RED CROSS MAY BE INVOLVED IN AID RACKETS. AID PROVIDED BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT IN JANUARY WAS ON SALE AT SEVERAL SHIPS IN DILI SOON AFTER IT ARRIVED IN EAST TIMOR. WHILE ONE MEDICAL POST IN THE NEEDY AREA OF EAST TIMOR WHICH WAS SERVICING 5,000 REFUGEES HAD LITTLE MORE THAN THREE METRES OF BAND AID AND 300 ANTI-MALARIA TABLETS, MEDICAL SUPPLIES WERE AVAILABLE IN THE CHINESE SHOPS IN THE CAPITAL OF EAST TIMOR AT EXHORBITANT PRICES FAR BEYOND THE MEANS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE" UNQUOTE.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, THE TIMORESE PEOPLE ARE DYING BY THE DOZEN EVERYDAY, VICTIMS OF STARVATION, MALARIA AND MALNUTRITION'

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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TOR 0856 27.10.79

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TO.
PP CANBERRA/5019

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FM. UN NEW YORK / FILE 103/3/4 351/4 412/1 REF O.CH853641 O.UN15671

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 : WESTERN SAHARA

AT A LUNCH IT GAVE FOR FOURTH COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVES FROM NORWAY, FINLAND, AUSTRIA AND AUSTRALIA, MOROCCO EXPLAINED ITS POSITION ON WESTERN SAHARA.

2. MAIN POINTS MOROCCO MADE WERE:

(A) WESTERN SAHARA WAS NOT NEGOTIABLE. THERE WAS A NUMBER OF ISSUES WHICH MIGHT BE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA (INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF COMMON TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES) BUT WESTERN SAHARA WAS NOT ONE OF THESE.

(B) WESTERN SAHARA WAS AN INTERNAL QUESTION AND MOROCCO WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY ATTEMPTS AT OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT (E.G. AN INTERNATIONAL FACT-FINDING MISSION) OR ANY RESOLUTIONS TAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS. HISTORICALLY AND CULTURALLY THE PEOPLE OF WESTER SAHARA HAD VERY CLOSE AFFINITIES WITH MOROCCANS AND THE MAJORITY OF WEST SAHARANS WERE IN FAVOUR OF MOROCCAN CONTROL.

(C) MOROCCO CONCEDED THAT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY 65 TO 70 COUNTRIES. THE PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION, HOWEVER, WOULD ONLY AGGRAVATE AN ALREADY TENSE SITUATION. (MOROCCO DID NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING WITH ALGERIA). MOREOVER IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO PAST UNITED NATIONS PRACTICE ON COOPERATION WITH THE OAU WHICH WAS TO RECOGNISE ONLY THOSE MOVEMENTS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION ALREADY RECOGNISED BY THE OAU. MOROCCO (CORRECTLY) POINTED OUT THAT THE OAU DECLARATIONS AT MONROVIA HAD NOT RECOGNISED THE POLISARIO FRONT AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF WESTERN SHARA.

(D) MOROCCO CONFIRMED THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAD RECENTLY CHANGED ITS POSITION BY AGREEING TO SUPPLY ARMS TO MOROCCO BUT DENIED THAT THIS MEANT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED ITS POSITION ON WESTERN SAHARA. MOROCCO EXPLAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD TOO MANY ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN ALGERIA FOR IT TO TAKE MOROCCO'S SIDE.

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3. DURING THE LUNCH, AUSTRIA SAID THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY ABSTAIN ON THE RESOLUTION BUT WOULD GIVE AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE WHICH WAS SYMPATHETIC TO MOROCCO'S POSITION.

4. FRANCE AND JAPAN HAVE SAID TO US THAT THEY WOULD MOST PROBABLY ABSTAIN. THE DUTCH, TOGETHER WITH THE NORDICS, HAVE GIVEN ALGERIA SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD MODIFY THE TEXT. THIS INDICATES THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING A YES VOTE. NEW ZEALAND HAS NOT YET HAD ANY CLEAR DIRECTION FROM WELLINGTON WHICH HAS ASKED TO BE KEPT INFORMED OF ANY TEXTUAL CHANGES ESPECIALLY TO PARAGRAPHS SUCH AS PARA 7 WHICH IT PRESENTLY FINDS UNACCEPTABLE.

5. THERE WILL BE A MEETING NEXT WEEK OF ALL CO-SPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTION TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING ANY TEXTUAL CHANGES

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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FAREP-P	FAREP-S				

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34: FOURTH COMMITTEE: ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

APART FROM THE DESCRIPTION OF POLISARIO IN OPERATIVE PARA. 7, THE ALGERIAN TEXT THIS YEAR IS CONSIDERABLY STRONGER THAN AT UNGA 33. YOU WILL NOTE IN PARTICULAR THAT MOROCCO IS NAMED IN OPERATIVE PARA 5, AND ITS ACTIONS 'DEEPLY DEPLORED'. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT MOROCCO HAS BEEN ADVERSELY NAMED IN ALGERIAN TEXTS ON THIS QUESTION.

2. BECAUSE OF THIS LANGUAGE, AND ESPECIALLY IF THERE IS NO MOROCCAN DRAFT ON WHICH WE CAN BALANCE OUR POSITION, WE WILL NEED TO WATCH VERY CAREFULLY THE VOTING INTENTIONS OF OTHER WEGBS SUCH AS THE NINE, NORDICS, AUSTRIA, CANADA, U.S.A. AND NEW ZEALAND.

3. WE DO NOT WISH TO BE DRAWN INTO NEGOTIATION WITH ALGERIA FOR SEVERAL REASONS:

- (I) WE MIGHT BE PUT IN THE AWKWARD POSITION OF NOT BEING ABLE TO VOTE IN FAVOUR DESPITE SOME OF OUR PROPOSED CHANGES BEING ACCEPTED.
- (II) AUSTRALIA IS FAR REMOVED FROM THE WESTERN SAHARA AND WE DO NOT WANT TO BECOME IDENTIFIED AS A NEGOTIATOR ON WESTERN SAHARAN TEXTS.
- (III) THERE COULD BE PARALLELS DRAWN WITH EAST TIMOR, IN SOME QUARTERS.
- (IV) YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT OUR CONSIDERATION OF THIS ITEM NEEDS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT WESTERN SAHARA IS ALSO ON THE LIST OF THE CHR AND ANY NEGOTIATING POSITION THAT WE ADOPT AT UNGA MAY HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR POSITION IN THE CHR.

4. FOR YOUR INFORMATION, AND YOU COULD MAKE SOME DISCREET USE OF IT CONSISTENT WITH NOT BEING DRAWN INTO MAJOR TEXTUAL NEGOTIATIONS, THE FOLLOWING ARE CHANGES WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN THE ALGERIAN

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

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DRAFT:

- (A) OPERATIVE PARA.1 - DELETE (OR MODIFY) ''LEGITIMACY OF ITS STRUGGLE'';
- (B) OPERATIVE PARA. 5 - DELETE THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO MOROCCO AND MODIFY THE TERMINOLOGY ''DEEPLY DEPLORES'';
- (C) OPERATIVE PARA. 6 - PREFERABLY REPLACE ''INSISTS'' WITH ''STRONGLY URGES'' OR SOME SUCH FORMULATION;
- (D) OPERATIVE PARA. 7 - DELETE THE DESCRIPTION OF POLISARIO AS ''SOLE AND LEGITIMATE''.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	LA
FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	EUR	
FAS(DEF)	DP	DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	IL	
FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S		

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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TOR 0704 26.10.79

O.UN15671 1700 25.10.79 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/4994

RP.
RR WASHINGTON/4031 ALGIERS/81 PARIS EMB/665

FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN15648

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

AT LUNCH ON 25 OCTOBER I ASKED BEDJAQUI (ALGERIA) WHETHER HE THOUGHT ANYTHING WOULD COME OF THE UNITED STATES MOVE TO GET NEGOTIATIONS GOING BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MOROCCO IN WHICH FRANCE, SPAIN AND SAUDI ARABIA MIGHT PARTICIPATE (PARAGRAPH 4 OF REFTEL). IN REPLY BEDJAQUI SAID THAT ALGERIA WAS RECEPTIVE TO ANY PROPOSALS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND MENTIONED THAT BRZEZINSKI IS DUE TO VISIT ALGIERS AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK. BEDJAQUI ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT NEGOTIATIONS COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE IF THE POLISARIO TOOK PART AS A PARTY PRINCIPAL: IT WAS THE POLISARIO THAT WAS DOING THE FIGHTING.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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JIO

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CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	LA	
FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	FAS(DEF)		DP
FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)		INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	
IL	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M		FAREP-P	FAREP-S	

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

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O.UN15648 ACHO
TOR 0947 25.10.79

O.UN15648 1930 24.10.79 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/4972

RP.
RR WASHINGTON/4027 ALGIERS/79 PARIS EMB/663

FM. UN NEW YORK /

C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

BEDJAQUI (ALGERIA) THIS MORNING SOUGHT OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ALGERIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA (TEXT BY SEPARATE CABLE). HE SAID THAT THE NEW DRAFT TOOK ACCOUNT OF FOUR SIGNIFICANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAD OCCURRED SINCE LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION:

(A) FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF ITS 'COUNCIL OF WISE MEN' THE OAU SUMMIT HAD VOTED BY A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY TO RECOGNISE THE RIGHT OF THE SAHRAOVI PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

(B) MAURITANIA HAD MADE PEACE WITH THE POLISARIA AND WITHDRAWN FROM THAT PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA WHICH IT HAD OCCUPIED.

(C) 34 STATES NOW RECOGNISED THE POLISARIO.

(D) MORROCCO, ALTHOUGH UNABLE TO HOLD THE NORTHERN PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA, HAD MOVED FORCES INTO THE AREA EVACUATED BY MAURITANIA.

2. BEDJAQUI EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE UNITED STATES ++ ANNOUNCEMENT OF ++ NEW ARMS SALES TO MORROCCO. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE IT COINCIDED WITH THE OPENING OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE DEBATE ON THE WESTERN SAHARA. HE NOTED NEVERTHELESS AS A POSITIVE ELEMENT ++ IN ++ THE STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES FAVOURED PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND WAS SUPPLYING ARMS IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN MORROCCO'S POSITION FOR THAT PURPOSE.

3. BEDJAQUI SAID THAT LAST YEAR MOROCCO HAD BEEN ABLE TO WEAKEN THE IMPACT OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION BY PLAYING FOR TIME FOR OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS. NOW THAT THE OAU HAD TAKEN A CLEAR STAND ON SELF-DETERMINATION, FURTHER MANOEUVRES BY MOROCCO WOULD BE SEEN AS MERE EXPEDIENTS TO AVOID THE ISSUE. MORROCCAN PROPOSALS FOR ECONOMIC

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CO-OPERATION IN NORTHERN AFRICA INCLUDING JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAHARA FAILED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE RIGHT OF THE SAHRAOUI PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND WERE IN ANY CASE IMPRACTICABLE. HE HOPED THAT AUSTRALIA WOULD AGAIN SUPPORT THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION THIS YEAR : HIS DELEGATION WOULD WELCOME AND BE RESPONSIVE TO ANY SUGGESTIONS WE MIGHT HAVE TO MAKE.

4. FILALI (MORROCCO) ASKED TO SEE ME THIS AFTERNOON. HE SAID THAT IMPORTANT NEW MOVES WERE GOING FORWARD WITH A VIEW TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. A UNITED STATES OFFICIAL WAS GOING TO MOROCCO TO DISCUSS THE LASTEST UNITED STATES PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA IN WHICH FRANCE, SPAIN AND SAUDI ARABIA MIGHT ALSO TAKE PART. IN ADDITION PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA AS CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU WOULD BE VISIT- ING ALGIERS ON 1 NOVEMBER AND RABAT ON 3 NOVEMBER: HE WAS EXPECTED TO PROPOSE A MEETING OF THE 'COUNCIL OF WISE MEN' WITH KING HASSAN AND PRESIDENT CHADLI ON 27 NOVEMBER. PASSAGE OF THE ALGERIAN RESOLUTION COULD UPSET THESE INITIATIVES. FILALI SAID HE WAS CONSULTING MEMBERS OF THE NINE AND OTHER FRIENDLY MISSIONS ON TWO POSSIBLE COURSES. ONE WAS TO RUN A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD URGE THE NEED FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE OTHER WOULD BE TO MOVE DEFERMENT OF THE ++ DEBATE ++ UNTIL AFTER THE NEW MOVES FOR NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN LAUNCHED: THE LONDON TALKS ON RHODESIA OFFERED AN ANALOGY.

5. I SAID TO BOTH BEDJAQUI AND FILALI THAT AUSTRALIA WHICH HAD FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH BOTH ALGERIA AND MOROCCO HAD NOT TAKEN AN ACTIVE PART IN THE DISPUTE. THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS IN OUR POSITION WERE SUPPORT FOR THE CHARTER PRINCIPLE OF SELF- DETERMINATION AND SUPPORT FOR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. WE WOULD STUDY THE RELEVANT TEXTS CAREFULLY.

6. WE SHALL DEFER MAKING A RECOMMENDATION UNTIL WE HAVE CONSULTED WESTERN AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED DELEGATIONS AND THE MORROCCAN POSITION HAS BECOME CLEARER. IN THE MEANTIME YOU WILL NOTE THE REFERENCE IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 7 OF THE ALGERIAN DRAFT TO THE POLISARIA AS THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA - A CLAIM WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN ENDORSED BY THE OAU. IF THIS REFERENCE IS AMENDED AND SOME OTHER DOMESTIC CHANGES MADE THE ALGERIAN DRAFT SEEMS BOUND TO COMMAND VERY WIDE SUPPORT. SINCE THE OAU SUMMIT, MOROCCO'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE HAS BECOME ONE OF UNENVIABLE ISOLATION.

7. GLAD ADVICE WHETHER YOU WOULD WISH US TO TAKE UP BEDJAQUI'S INVITATION TO COMMENT ON THE ALGERIAN DRAFT. WE EXPECT DRAFT TO BE VOTED ON 29 ++ OCTOBER. ++

++ AMENDMENTS ++

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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AC. TEXT AMENDED PARA 2, 4 AND 7

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	LA	
FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	FAS(DEF)		DP
FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)		INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	
IL	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M		FAREP-P	FAREP-S	

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**UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**



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**A/C.4/34/L.2
24 October 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH**



Thirty-fourth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

**IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES**

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi,
Cape Verde, Congo, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial
Guinea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana,
Jamaica, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar,
Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao
Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Trinidad and Tobago,
Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Viet Nam and Zambia:
draft resolution

The General Assembly,

Having considered thoroughly the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in conformity with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara, including the statement by the representative of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO),

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

1/ A/34/23/Add.3, chap. X.

Recalling its resolution 33/27 of 1 December 1978 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979, 2/ and endorsing the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on the question of Western Sahara,

Also taking note of the peace agreement concluded between Mauritania and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro on 10 August 1979 3/ and the decision of Mauritania to withdraw its forces from Western Sahara, 4/

Aware of the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries at the aggravation of the situation prevailing in Western Sahara because of the continuation and extension of the occupation of that Territory,

Recalling the paragraphs dealing with the question of Western Sahara in the Political Declaration adopted by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, 5/

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of its struggle to secure the enjoyment of that right as provided in the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in conformity with the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);
 2. Takes note with satisfaction of the decision on the question of Western Sahara adopted by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its sixteenth ordinary session held at Monrovia;
 3. Also takes note with satisfaction of the relevant declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries regarding the question of Western Sahara;
 4. Welcomes the peace agreement concluded between Mauritania and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro and considers that this agreement constitutes an important contribution to the peace process with a view to a definitive, just and lasting settlement of the question of Western Sahara;
-
- 2/ A/34/552, annex III, decision AHG/Dec.114 (XVI).
- 3/ A/34/427-S/13503, annex I.
- 4/ Ibid., annex II.
- 5/ A/34/542, annex, sect. I, paras. 96 to 98.

5. Deeply deplores the aggravation of the situation resulting from the continuation of the occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco and the extension of this occupation to the territory recently evacuated by Mauritania;

6. Demands the withdrawal of the occupation forces and respect for the territorial integrity of Western Sahara and the sovereignty of its people in order to ensure the complete and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);

7. Recommends that the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Western Sahara, should participate fully in any search for a just, lasting and definitive political solution of the question of Western Sahara, in conformity with the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries;

8. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to consider the situation in Western Sahara as a priority question and to report on this subject to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session;

9. Requests the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;

10. Invites the Secretary-General to follow closely the situation in Western Sahara and to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session.

Having also taken into account the situation of Western Sahara,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and sovereignty, and the consistency with the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 concerning the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having also noted the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements made on the subject of Western Sahara, including the statement by the representative of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO),

Noting in this regard the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



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A/C.4/34/11
24 October 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING
OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Letter dated 17 October 1979 from the Permanent Representative
of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-
General

A working paper on "Western Sahara" was prepared by the Secretariat and issued as document A/AC.109/L.1331 dated 13 August 1979. This document was annexed to the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (document A/34/23/Add.3 dated 1 October 1979). In view of the omissions and incomplete information which it contains, the document could give rise to misinterpretations.

On instructions from my Government, I wish to draw your attention to the following points:

1. In paragraph 1, in the description of the Territory, no mention is made of the latter's population. The figure usually cited in documents of this type is that obtained in the last known official census. Reference need only be made here to the report of the 1975 United Nations Visiting Mission to the Territory, which appeared in the report of the Special Committee (A/10023/Rev.1): "According to the census carried out by the administering Power in 1974, there were 73,497 Saharans living in the Territory." 1/

2. In paragraphs 5-8 (Background), the document fails to mention that it was at the request of Morocco, at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, that the question of the "decolonization of Ifni and the Sahara" was included in the agenda of the Committee on Decolonization and that the first resolution on the subject adopted by the General Assembly (resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965) urgently requested "the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, para. 11 (9).

and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories".

In addition, the above-mentioned document fails to note that the Madrid Agreement of 14 November 1975 between Morocco, Mauritania and Spain was signed following the adoption of Security Council resolution 377 (1975) of 22 October 1975, which recommended "negotiations that the parties concerned and interested might undertake under Article 33 of the Charter". The Madrid Agreement itself, it should be noted, mentions that it resulted from the negotiations called for by the United Nations between the parties concerned.

While Spain did terminate its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976, as is mentioned in the document referred to above, it should have been noted for the sake of completeness that the General Assembly had previously taken note of the Madrid Agreement in its resolution 3458 B (XXX) of 10 December 1975 and that, in accordance with the recommendations contained in that resolution, the Jemaa, or Territorial Assembly, met in special session on 26 February 1976.

3. In paragraph 51, it is noted that the Security Council "considered the question of Western Sahara at its 2151st to 2153rd meetings between 20 and 22 June 1979". It would be more accurate to recall the Council's agenda for the two meetings in question, which was entitled "Letters dated 13 June 1979 and 15 June 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13394 and S/13397)". These two letters have to do with convening a meeting of the Security Council to consider acts of aggression committed by the Algerian Government against Morocco.

It is also noted in paragraph 51 that a statement was made in the course of the two meetings in question by the Frente POLISARIO; however, the Council merely heard an individual in his private capacity pursuant to rule 39 of its rules of procedure, under which "The Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat or other persons, whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence."

4. Finally, in paragraph 42, the above-mentioned document refers to the resolution adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU at its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979. 2/ However, it makes no mention of the message addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this connexion by Mr. M'Hamed Boucetta, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco. 3/

I should be grateful if you would have the relevant corrections made in the working paper in question and if you would have the text of this communication circulated as a General Assembly document.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

2/ A/34/552, annex II, decision AHG/Dec.114 (XVI).

3/ A/34/421, annex.

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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TOR 1018 25.10.79

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE - ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

REFERENCE OUR O.UN15648. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT
RESOLUTION:
BEGINS:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

① HAVING CONSIDERED THOROUGHLY THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA,

② RECALLING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRINCIPLES
SET FORTH IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS RESOLUTION
1514 (XV) OF 14 DECEMBER 1960 CONTAINING THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES,

③ HAVING CONSIDERED THE PERTINENT CHAPTER OF THE REPORT OF
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLE-
MENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES,

④ HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENTS MADE ON THE SUBJECT OF WESTERN
SAHARA, INCLUDING THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
FRENTE POPUL PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y RIO DE ORO,
(F. POLISARIO)

⑤ BEARING IN MIND THE PROFOUND CONCERN OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON ALIGNED
COUNTRIES REGARDING THE DECOLONIZATION OF WESTERN SAHARA AND THE
RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY TO SELF-DETERMINATION,

⑥ RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 33/27 OF 1 DECEMBER 1978 REGARDING
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY,

TAKING NOTE OF THE DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE

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AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS SIXTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION, HELD AT MONROVIA FROM 17 TO 20 JULY 1979 AND ENDORSING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA,

8 ALSO TAKING NOTE OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND THE FRENTE POPUL PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y RIO DE ORO ON 10 AUGUST 1979 AND THE DECISION OF MAURITANIA TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM WESTERN SAHARA,

9 AWARE OF THE PROFOUND CONCERN OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AT THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION PREVAILING IN WESTERN SAHARA BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUATION AND EXTENSION OF THE OCCUPATION OF THAT TERRITORY,

10 RECALLING THE PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA IN THE POLITICAL DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OF GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, HELD AT HAVAN FROM 3 TO 9 SEPTEMBER 1979,

1. REAFFIRMS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND THE LEGITIMACY OF ITS STRUGGLE TO SECURE THE ENJOYMENT OF THAT RIGHT AS PROVIDED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV):

2. TAKES NOTE WITH SATISFACTION OF THE ADOPTION BY THE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS SIXTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION, OF THE DECISION TAKEN AT MONROVIA ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

3. ALSO TAKES NOTE WITH SATISFACTION OF THE PERTINENT DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES REGARDING THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

4. WELCOMES THE PEACE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA AND THE FRENTE POPULAR PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y DE RIO DE ORO AND CONSIDERS THAT THIS AGREEMENT CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS WITH A VIEW TO A DEFINITIVE, JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

5. DEEPLY DEPLORES THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION, RESULTING FROM THE CONTINUATION OF THE OCCUPATION OF WESTERN SAHARA BY MOROCCO AND THE EXTENSION OF THIS OCCUPATION TO THE TERRITORY RECENTLY EVACUATED BY MAURITANIA:

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6. INSISTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPATION FORCES AND RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF WESTERN SAHARA AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ITS PEOPLE, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE COMPLETE AND SPEEDY APPLICATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV):

7. RECOMMENDS THAT THE FRENT POPULAR PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y DE RIO DE ORO, THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA, SHOULD PARTICIPATE FULLY IN ANY SEARCH FOR A JUST, LASTING AND DEFINITIVE POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA, IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES:

8. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES TO CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AS A PRIORITY QUESTION AND TO REPORT ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION:

9. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO KEEP THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS INFORMED OF THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONCERNING WESTERN SAHARA:

10. INVITES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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ACTION: AME
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FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	FAS(DEF)		DP
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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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O.UN15649 RRTP
TOR 1018 25.10.79

O.UN15649 1950 24.10.79 CLA

TO.
PP CANBERRA/4973

RP.
RR WASHINGTON/4028 ALGIERS/80 PARIS EMB/664
FM. UN NEW YORK / REF O.UN15648

Mr Smith

*Polisario status
in para 7?*

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE - ITEM 18 - WESTERN SAHARA

REFERENCE OUR O.UN15648. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT
RESOLUTION:
BEGINS:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

HAVING CONSIDERED THOROUGHLY THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA,

RECALLING THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-
DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRINCIPLES
SET FORTH IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS RESOLUTION
1514 (XV) OF 14 DECEMBER 1960 CONTAINING THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES,

HAVING CONSIDERED THE PERTINENT CHAPTER OF THE REPORT OF
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPE-
LEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES,

HAVING HEARD THE STATEMENTS MADE ON THE SUBJECT OF WESTERN
SAHARA, INCLUDING THE STATEMENT BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
FRENTE POPUL PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y RIO DE ORO,
(F. POLISARIO)

BEARING IN MIND THE PROFOUND CONCERN OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON ALIGNED
COUNTRIES REGARDING THE DECOLONIZATION OF WESTERN SAHARA AND THE
RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY TO SELF-DETERMINATION,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 33/27 OF 1 DECEMBER 1978 REGARDING
CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY,

TAKING NOTE OF THE DECISION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN15649

AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS SIXTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION, HELD AT MONROVIA FROM 17 TO 20 JULY 1979 AND ENDORSING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA,

ALSO TAKING NOTE OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND THE FRENTE POPUL PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y RIO DE ORO ON 10 AUGUST 1979 AND THE DECISION OF MAURITANIA TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM WESTERN SAHARA,

AWARE OF THE PROFOUND CONCERN OF THE UNITED NATIONS, OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES AT THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION PREVAILING IN WESTERN SAHARA BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUATION AND EXTENSION OF THE OCCUPATION OF THAT TERRITORY,

RECALLING THE PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA IN THE POLITICAL DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OF GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, HELD AT HAVAN FROM 3 TO 9 SEPTEMBER 1979,

1. REAFFIRMS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND THE LEGITIMACY OF ITS STRUGGLE TO SECURE THE ENJOYMENT OF THAT RIGHT AS PROVIDED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND IN CONFORMITY WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV):

2. TAKES NOTE WITH SATISFACTION OF THE ADOPTION BY THE CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT ITS SIXTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION, OF THE DECISION TAKEN AT MONROVIA ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

3. ALSO TAKES NOTE WITH SATISFACTION OF THE PERTINENT DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES REGARDING THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

4. WELCOMES THE PEACE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA AND THE FRENTE POPULAR PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y DE RIO DE ORO AND CONSIDERS THAT THIS AGREEMENT CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS WITH A VIEW TO A DEFINITIVE, JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA:

5. DEEPLY DEPLORES THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION, RESULTING FROM THE CONTINUATION OF THE OCCUPATION OF WESTERN SAHARA BY MOROCCO AND THE EXTENSION OF THIS OCCUPATION TO THE TERRITORY RECENTLY EVACUATED BY MAURITANIA:

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

3-0.UN15649

6. INSISTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPATION FORCES AND RESPECT FOR THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF WESTERN SAHARA AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ITS PEOPLE, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE COMPLETE AND SPEEDY APPLICATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1514 (XV):

7. RECOMMENDS THAT THE FRENT POPULAR PARA LA LIBERACION DE SAGUIA EL-HAMRA Y DE RIO DE ORO, THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA, SHOULD PARTICIPATE FULLY IN ANY SEARCH FOR A JUST, LASTING AND DEFINITIVE POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA, IN CONFORMITY WITH RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES:

8. REQUESTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES TO CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AS A PRIORITY QUESTION AND TO REPORT ON THIS SUBJECT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION:

9. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO KEEP THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS INFORMED OF THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CONCERNING WESTERN SAHARA:

10. INVITES THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO FOLLOW CLOSELY THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT ON THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

4-0.UN15649

ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	LA	
FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	FAS(DEF)	DP	
FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)		INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	
IL	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M		FAREP-P	FAREP-S	

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OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

935/28/2

O.CH853640 MJDE

O.CH853640 1729 26.10.79 CLA

TO.

RR UN NEW YORK/9887

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 935/28/2

R E S T R I C T E D

UNGA 34 : FOURTH COMMITTEE : ITEM 18 WESTERN SHARA

HEREWITH REPEAT OF O.PA70085

BEGINS:

O.PA70085 2110 24.10.79 CLA

TO.

RR CANBERRA/8781

RR.

RR ALGIERS/523 CAIRO/303

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 211/1/14

R E S T R I C T E D

FRANCE/ MAURITANIA : MILITARY ASSISTANCE

FRANCE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL STATION A DETACHMENT OF 150-180 TROOPS IN MAURITANIA. A RECONNAISSANCE MISSION IS ALREADY IN PLACE AND THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF TROOPS IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN MAURITANIA DURING NOVEMBER. THEY WILL BE STATIONED AT NOUADHIBOU, THE PORT AND RAILHEAD WHICH IS THE "ECONOMIC CAPITAL" OF MAURITANIA AND IN WHICH LIVE 1500 FRENCH NATIONALS.

2. IN BACKGROUND BRIEFING TO THE PRESS IT HAS BEEN EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS ASSISTANCE IS TO PROTECT MAURITANIA'S "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY", IN ACCORDANCE WITH A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING THAT FRANCE WILL HELP PRESERVE THE FORMER COLONIAL BOUNDARIES OF ITS EX-DEPENDENCIES IN AFRICA. FRANCE PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED A DETACHMENT OF JAGUAR AIRCRAFT TO PROTECT MAURITANIA AGAINST POLISARIO INCURSIONS, BUT FOLLOWING THE MAURITANIA/POLISARIO PEACE AGREEMENT THE CURRENT DECISION IS MORE LIKELY TO BE TAKEN AS BEING INTENDED TO HELP DEFEND MAURITANIA FROM ANY MOROCCAN ATTACK.

3. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION FOLLOWS A VISIT TO FRANCE IN

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.CH853640

MID-SEPTEMBER BY MAURITANIAN PRIME MINISTER HEYDALLA DURING WHICH HE SOUGHT INTENSIFIED FRENCH MILITARY AID. THAT VISIT PROVOKED A MOROCCAN REACTION, BUT NO MOROCCAN COMMENT HAS SO FAR BEEN REPORTED HERE ON THE TROOPS ANNOUNCEMENT, POSSIBLY BECAUSE IT COINCIDES WITH PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE AMERICAN INTENTION TO SELL ARMED RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT, HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS AND ARMoured PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO THE MOROCCAN ARMY. IT SEEMS LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT MOROCCO (WHICH HAS SUGGESTED THAT POLISARIO MIGHT FIND A HOME WITHIN MAURITANIA) WILL OBJECT TO THE FRENCH DECISION AS EVIDENCE OF A MOVE AWAY FROM FRANCE'S PUBLIC NEUTRALITY ON THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DEP DEFENCE

DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
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ACTION: IO
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	LA
FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)		FAS(WES)	ANZ	EUR
AME	FAS(DEF)	DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	IL	
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INWARD CABLEGRAM

93/28/2

O.PA70085 DRHA
TOR 1007 25.10.79

O.PA70085 2110 24.10.79 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/8781

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RR ALGIERS/523 CAIRO/303

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 211/1/14

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to WNY
26.10*

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R E S T R I C T E D

FRANCE/ MAURITANIA : MILITARY ASSISTANCE

FRANCE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL STATION A DETACHMENT OF 150-180 TROOPS IN MAURITANIA. A RECONNAISSANCE MISSION IS ALREADY IN PLACE AND THE FIRST CONTINGENT OF TROOPS IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN MAURITANIA DURING NOVEMBER. THEY WILL BE STATIONED AT NOUADHIBOU, THE PORT AND RAILHEAD WHICH IS THE "ECONOMIC CAPITAL" OF MAURITANIA AND IN WHICH LIVE 1500 FRENCH NATIONALS.

2. IN BACKGROUND BRIEFING TO THE PRESS IT HAS BEEN EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS ASSISTANCE IS TO PROTECT MAURITANIA'S "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY", IN ACCORDANCE WITH A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING THAT FRANCE WILL HELP PRESERVE THE FORMER COLONIAL BOUNDARIES OF ITS EX-DEPENDENCIES IN AFRICA. FRANCE PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED A DETACHMENT OF JAGUAR AIRCRAFT TO PROTECT MAURITANIA AGAINST POLISARIO INCURSIONS, BUT FOLLOWING THE MAURITANIA/POLISARIO PEACE AGREEMENT THE CURRENT DECISION IS MORE LIKELY TO BE TAKEN AS BEING INTENDED TO HELP DEFEND MAURITANIA FROM ANY MOROCCAN ATTACK.

3. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S DECISION FOLLOWS A VISIT TO FRANCE IN MID-SEPTEMBER BY MAURITANIAN PRIME MINISTER HEYDALLA DURING WHICH HE SOUGHT INTENSIFIED FRENCH MILITARY AID. THAT VISIT PROVOKED A MOROCCAN REACTION, BUT NO MOROCCAN COMMENT HAS SO FAR BEEN REPORTED HERE ON THE TROOPS ANNOUNCEMENT, POSSIBLY BECAUSE IT COINCIDES WITH PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE AMERICAN INTENTION TO SELL ARMED RECONNAISSANCE AIRCRAFT, HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS AND ARMoured PERSONNEL CARRIERS TO THE MOROCCAN ARMY. IT SEEMS LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT MOROCCO (WHICH HAS SUGGESTED THAT POLISARIO MIGHT FIND A HOME WITHIN MAURITANIA) WILL OBJECT TO THE FRENCH DECISION AS EVIDENCE OF A MOVE AWAY FROM FRANCE'S PUBLIC NEUTRALITY ON THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.PA70085

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DEP DEFENCE T/T

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

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ACTION: EUR JBAL
AME JBAE
DP DABB

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		FAS(DEF)	DC	FAS(NUC)
FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	INF		FAS(ECO)
FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M		FAREP-P	
FAREP-S					

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM 935/281/2

O.AL3374 ACHO
TOR 0310 25.10.79

O.AL3374 1100 24.10.79 CLA

TO.
RR CAIRO/62 CANBERRA/2391 PARIS EMB/754
RR UN NEW YORK/155

FM. ALGIERS /

C O N F I D E N T I A L

NEWSPAPER REPORT - COUP ATTEMPT

WE HAVE HEARD THAT A RECENT EDITION OF A CAIRO NEWSPAPER CARRIED A STORY OF AN ATTEMPTED COUP ATTEMPT AGAINST THE PRESENT ALGERIAN LEADERSHIP. REGRET WE HAVE NO FURTHER DETAILS OF NAME OF PAPER OR DATE BUT BELIEVE IT WAS WITHIN LAST WEEK.

2. GRATEFUL ANY FURTHER INFORMATION YOU MAY BE ABLE TO SUPPLY.

3. WHILE WE HAVE NO CONCRETE EVIDENCE TO INDICATE THAT SUCH AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE THE TIMING OF SUCH A COUP COULD HAVE BEEN SEEN AS HAVING SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE COMING JUST BEFORE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE START OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION. THE ONE RUMOUR OF SUCH AN ATTEMPT WHICH WE HAVE HEARD WAS LINKED TO THE DISMISSAL ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY ON 14 OCTOBER OF AHMED GHOZALI MINISTER FOR HYDRAULICS (AND FORMER MINISTER FOR ENERGY IN THE BOHUMEDIENE CABINET). THE STARKNESS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT WITH NO ATTEMPT AT ATTRIBUTING IT TO A DIPLOMATIC ILLNESS WAS SURPRISING. HOWEVER SINCE GHOZALI AGED 42 HAD NO REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE APART FROM BEING A MEMBER OF THE FLN STUDENT GROUP IN PARIS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE AND FURTHER HAS NO MILITARY BACKGROUND OR CONNECTIONS WE DOUBT VERY MUCH THAT HE WOULD HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN A COUP ATTEMPT OR IF HE WAS THAT HE WOULD HAVE ATTRACTED ANY SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT.

4. WE HAVE HOWEVER NOTICED LARGE SCALE TROOP MOVEMENTS AROUND ALGIERS ITSELF (TRUCKS TRANSPORTING SOLDIERS IN FULL COMBAT GEAR WITH FIXED BAYONETS) BUT THIS MIGHT REASONABLY BE ATTRIBUTED TO (OR USED UNDER THE GUISE OF) PREPARATIONS FOR THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION.

FOR UNNY

5. PLEASE PASS COPY TO BROOK.

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.AL3374

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: AME

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		FAS(DEF)	DP	DC
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ACCRA JEDDAH LAGOS MADRID

CONFIDENTIAL

935/28/2

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.AL3371 RLOP
TOR 2355 23.10.79

O.AL3371 1200 23.10.79 CLA

TO.

RR CANBERRA/2389 PARIS EMB/752 UN NEW YORK/154
RR WASHINGTON/11

FM. ALGIERS / FILE 862/98/1

R E S T R I C T E D

UNITED STATES ARMS SUPPLY TO MOROCCO

OFFICIAL FRENCH LANGUAGE DAILY 'EL MOUDJAHID' TODAY CARRIED STORY CONCERNING DECISION BY PRESIDENT CARTER TO REINFORCE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO MOROCCO 'DESPITE STRONG CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION'. THE ARTICLE NOTED, HOWEVER THAT THE NATURE OF ANY ARMS TO BE SUPPLIED REMAINED UNKNOWN.

2. THE ALGERIAN PRESS HAS FOLLOWED CLOSELY RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING SUCH SUPPLIES. HOWEVER, ALGERIAN COMMENT HAS BEEN RESTRAINED TO DATE. TODAY'S ARTICLE FOR EXAMPLE MERELY NOTES THAT PREVIOUS SUPPLIES OF AMERICAN ARMS 'AS WELL AS THE ACTIVITIES OF NORTH AMERICAN ADVISERS HAVE BEEN KEY FACTORS IN MAINTAINING THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA'. IT WENT ON TO NOTE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADVISERS MUST BE 'DISTURBED' AT THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION AND FEARFUL OF THE INCREASING DISCONTENT OF AFRICAN STATES IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE ILLEGAL ANNEXATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA.

3. LACK OF MORE FORCEFUL ALGERIAN REACTION IS INTERESTING IN THE LIGHT OF PERSISTENT RUMOURS THAT PRESIDENT CHADLI IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DISENCHANTED WITH TOO ACTIVE ALGERIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONFLICT. IT IS ALSO BECOMING APPARENT THAT THE POLISARIO FRONT IS TURNING MORE TO LIBYA FOR SUPPORT. PRESIDENT CHADLI WAS QUOTED RECENTLY AS WARNING THAT ANY ESCALATION IN THE CONFLICT RAN THE RISK OF SPREADING TO EUROPE. APART FROM THAT HOWEVER THE ALGERIAN MEDIA CONTINUE TO GIVE PROMINENCE TO CLAIMED POLISARIO VICTORIES AS WELL AS TO ALLEGED FRENCH, AMERICAN, EGYPTIAN AND EVEN RECENTLY ZIONIST INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONFLICT ON THE SIDE OF MOROCCO.

FOR UNNY

4. PLEASE PASS COPY TO BROOK.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.AL3371

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

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ACTION: ANZ
AME

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LBCDB

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP
DC	FAS(NUC)	NS	NP	FAS(IOC)	IO
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)		FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)
FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S			

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UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/35/529
10 October 1980

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Thirty-fifth session
Agenda item 18

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Report of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/37 of 21 November 1979 concerning the question of Western Sahara. Paragraphs 9 and 10 of the resolution read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"9. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;

"10. Invites the Secretary-General to follow closely the situation in Western Sahara and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session."

2. On 30 September 1980, the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations addressed the following letter to the Secretary-General:

"In pursuance of paragraph 9 of United Nations General Assembly resolution 34/37 adopted on 21 November 1979, I have been instructed by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to transmit to you the text of decision AHG/DEC.118 (XVII) on the question of Western Sahara which was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU meeting at its seventeenth ordinary session in Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980 (see annex).

"In accordance with paragraph 4 of the decision, the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara met at Freetown from 9 to 12 September 1980. The Committee's recommendations are being forwarded to the heads of State and Government of OAU.

"I would be grateful if you would include this information in your report to the General Assembly."

3. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly will have before it the working paper on the item prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/621), which the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples decided to transmit to the Assembly in order to facilitate the consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee.

4. During the year, the Secretary-General has continued to follow closely the situation with regard to Western Sahara as well as the related efforts of OAU to arrive at a solution of the problem. Further, the Secretary-General has maintained close contacts with the parties concerned and will continue to extend his full co-operation to them in the search for a solution, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

ANNEX

Decision AHG/DEC.118 (XVII), adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its seventeenth ordinary session

Question of Western Sahara

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting, at its seventeenth ordinary session in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 1 to 4 July 1980,

Having reviewed the report of the third session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara,

Taking cognizance of the views expressed on the report by various delegations,

1. Takes note of the report of the third session of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara;

2. Agrees that the Committee, under the chairmanship of the current Chairman, H.E. Dr. Siaka Stevens, should continue its work with a view to reconciling the parties to the conflict and seeking a peaceful and lasting solution thereto;

3. Welcomes the willingness of the Kingdom of Morocco to engage in discussions with all interested parties and to participate fully in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee;

4. Decides that the Ad Hoc Committee shall convene in Freetown, Sierra Leone, within the next three months.

On 2 September 1980, the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations, addressed the following letter to the Secretary-General:

In pursuance of paragraph 9 of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 34/37 adopted on 21 November 1979, I have been instructed by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to transmit to you the text of decision AHG/DEC.118 (XVII) on the question of Western Sahara, which was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU meeting at its seventeenth ordinary session in Freetown from 1 to 4 July 1980 (Annex).

(F) 935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/483
21 September 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the provisional agenda*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Question of Western Sahara

Report of the Secretary-General

1. At its thirty-third session, the General Assembly adopted resolutions 33/31 A and B of 13 December 1978 concerning the question of Western Sahara. Paragraphs 5 and 6 of resolution 33/31 A read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;

"6. Invites the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session."

Further, paragraph 5 of resolution 33/31 B read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

...

"5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the ad hoc committee /of Heads of State/ and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon to the General Assembly."

* A/34/150.

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2. On 8 August 1979, the Acting Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity to the United Nations addressed the following letter to the Secretary-General:

"In pursuance of paragraphs 5 of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions 33/31 A and B, adopted on 13 December 1978, I have been instructed by the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to transmit to you the full text of decision AHG/DEC.114 (XVI) on the question of Western Sahara which was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting at its sixteenth ordinary session in Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979 (see enclosure).

"I wish to draw your attention to paragraph 4 of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in which the United Nations is called to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity in organizing the envisaged referendum for Western Sahara.

"I hope you will include in your subsequent report to the General Assembly the full text of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity together with my forwarding letter."

3. Subsequent to the receipt of the above letter, the Secretary-General received the following communications in this connexion:

(a) Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations (A/34/420);

(b) Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations (A/34/421);

(c) Letter dated 18 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations (A/34/427).

As requested, these communications have been published in the documents of the General Assembly cited above.

4. The Secretary-General has maintained close contact with the parties concerned and has assured them of his continued readiness to extend his full co-operation in the search for a solution of the problem.

EnclosureAssembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization
of African Unity, Sixteenth ordinary sessionDecision AHG/Dec.114 (XVI)Question of Western Sahara

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its sixteenth ordinary session in Monrovia, Liberia, from 17 to 20 July 1979,

Having heard the introductory remarks by the outgoing Chairman and the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara on the Committee's report on the question of Western Sahara,

Having discussed the question of Western Sahara,

Having exhaustively considered the report of its Ad Hoc Committee, contained in document AHG/93/XVI, which included reports of the Sub-Committee of the Ad Hoc Committee on its mission to Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco and that of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to Spain in the company of the Ambassadors of Mali and Nigeria to Spain,

Considering that all the parties concerned except Morocco agree that the right of self-determination for the people of Sahara has not been fulfilled,

Also considering that the tripartite agreement between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania transferred only administration of the territory to Morocco and Mauritania and not its sovereignty,

Aware that Morocco maintains that the right to self-determination has been exercised by the Sahraouis through the Assembly known as the Yema'a:

Decides the following:

1. The preparation of a proper atmosphere for peace in the area through a general and immediate cease-fire;
2. The exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a general and free referendum which will enable them to choose one of the following options:
 - (a) Total independence, or
 - (b) Maintenance of the status quo;

/...

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935728/2 **CONFIDENTIAL****FOREIGN AFFAIRS**
CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.F.A.935729/2 935722/2
935724/2 935722/15
DATE. 14 September 1979

INFORMATION.

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2926

SUBJECT. UNGA 34 : BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM

Please refer to your O.CH 844598 and our O.UN 15122.

2. In the course of our bilateral consultations on 13 September, the British provided the following comments on a number of items likely to be of interest to the Fourth Committee :-

A. WESTERN SAHARA

3. The British agreed with our assessment that the situation would be very different this year compared with last year. Their aim would be to avoid taking sides and to stay in line with the Nine. This, however, would be more difficult to do because Morocco had refused to accept mediation by the O.A.U. even though it had successfully put a resolution at UNGA 33 to the effect that it invited the O.A.U. "to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara".

B. TIMOR

4. The British would want to stay in line with the Nine and would continue, as they did last year, to abstain on this item. They commented that there were indications that some of the Nine had been under considerable pressure to change their vote. The British agreed with us that the Timor item was on its way out.

C. NEW HEBRIDES

5. The British wanted the issue of the New Hebrides settled before the French were confronted on the question of other French territories in the Pacific (e.g. New Caledonia). The British were still confident about sticking to the timetable for independence in 1980. In response to a question from us, they commented that the French would not accept the idea of a visit to the New Hebrides by a Committee of 24 Mission but would be prepared to accept a visit by a United Nations Mission.

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London, however, had not given any response to its Mission on the acceptability or otherwise of a United Nations visit.

D. BELIZE

6. It was not anticipated that this would be a particularly controversial issue and the draft resolution put forward would probably be similar to the one carried last year. One development which the British would be looking at closely was the outcome of the election in Belize due to be held at the end of October. There could be a new government there by the time the Belize item came before the Fourth Committee. Belize usually had its own team at UNGA which did a lot of lobbying but, depending on the outcome of the election, this could be composed of newcomers.

E. FALKLANDS, GIBRALTAR AND BRUNEI

7. The British said they were hoping to continue to keep the Falklands and Gibraltar out of UNGA and to deal with these territories through bilateral agreements. They were also hoping that Brunei would not come up. (At last year's UNGA it was decided to defer consideration of Brunei until the 34th Session).


(Ken Chan)
Second Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RR PARIS EMB/740

FM. ALGIERS / FILE 862/98/1 REF O.PA68495

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

WESTERN SAHARA

FRENCH LANGUAGE DAILY EL MOUDJAHID OF 11 SEPTEMBER CARRIED STORY OF COMMENCEMENT OF MOROCCAN WIRHDRAWAL FROM MAURITANIA. THE ARTICLE, QUOTING OFFICIAL MAURITANIAN SOURCES, NOTED THAT A FIRST CONVOY OF 3,300 MOROCCAN TROOPS HAD LEFT THE NORTHERN MAURITANIAN MINING TOWN OF ZOUERATE ON THE MORNING OF 10 SEPTEMBER WITH AN ESCORT OF 500 MAURITANIAN TROOPS.

2. THE MOROCCANS WOULD BE ESCORTED TO ANOTHER MOROCCAN GARRISON AT BIR MOGHRAIN IN THE EXTREME NORTH OF MAURITANIA, FROM WHERE THEY WERE EXPECTED TO HEAD DUE WEST TO GUELTAU, THE NEAREST MOROCCAN GARRISON IN THAT PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ORIGINALLY INCORPORATED INTO MOROCCO IN 1975. THE WITHDRAWAL OPERATION WAS EXPECTED TO TAKE UP TO 48 HOURS. THE MAURITANIAN SOURCES WERE ALSO CITED AS SAYING THAT 4500 MOROCCAN TROOPS HAD BEEN STATIONED IN MAURITANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RR TEL AVIV/566 MOSCOW/137 ALGIERS/087
BB DAMASCUS/133 BAGHDAD/144 BEIRUT/294
BB AMMAN/060 JEDDAH/259

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO : WESTERN SAHARA

SINCE PRESIDENT SADAT'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON 1 SEPTEMBER, THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE COMMENT AND SPECULATION IN CAIRO ABOUT THE EGYPTIAN DECISION TO SUPPORT KING HASSAN AND THE NATURE OF THE EGYPTIAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO MOROCCO.

2. A CONSENSUS IS NOW EMERGING THAT EGYPT'S OFFER OF ASSISTANCE FOLLOWED A REQUEST BY KING HASSAN. IT ALSO APPEARS LIKELY THAT AT THE TIME OF SADAT'S ANNOUNCEMENT, EGYPT HAD ALREADY PROVIDED MILITARY ASSISTANCE. THE SPANISH EMBASSY TOLD US TODAY (11/9) THAT TWO EGYPTIAN AIRFORCE C-130'S OVERFLEW SPAIN ON 29 AUGUST HEADED FOR CASABLANCA. SO FAR WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ASCERTAIN THE PRECISE FORM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE OFFERED BY EGYPT, ALTHOUGH IT IS ASSUMED THAT IT INCLUDES OLD SOVIET EQUIPMENT.

3. FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT PRINCE ABDULLAH OF SAUDI ARABIA VISITED MOROCCO, FLYING FROM LIBYA WHERE HE HAD BEEN ATTENDING INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS. SUBSEQUENTLY, CAIRO PRESS REPORTED THAT THE SAUDI INFORMATION MINISTER ALSO VISITED MOROCCO. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US THAT WHILE THEY HAVE NO FIRM INFORMATION ON THE OUTCOME OF THESE TWO VISITS, THEY BELIEVE THE SAUDIS PROBABLY OFFERED FINANCIAL INDUCEMENTS TO MOROCCO IN AN ENDEAVOUR TO ENSURE THAT MOROCCO DID NOT BECOME TOO DEPENDENT ON EGYPT AND LESS IDENTIFIABLE WITH THE REJECTIONIST ARAB STATES ON QUESTION OF PEACE TREATY. A COROLLARY OF THIS THEORY IS THAT BY MOVING CLOSER TO EGYPT, KING HASSAN MAY HAVE BELIEVED THAT LIBYA AND ALGERIA IN PARTICULAR, WOULD BE INCLINED TO LESSEN THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE POLISARIO.

4. IN CAIRO THE DECISION TO ASSIST MOROCCO IS NOT BEING INTERPRETED, PUBLICLY AT LEAST, AS A WITHDRAWAL OF EGYPTIAN SUPPORT FOR SELF DETERMINATION FOR WESTERN SAHARA. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AT HAVANA THE

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EGYPTIAN MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR BOUTROS GHALI, DID NOT SUPPORT A MOTION TO TAKE WESTERN SAHARA OFF THE AGENDA. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY LINE WHICH IS EMERGING IN THE CAIRO PRESS IS THAT THE EGYPTIAN ASSISTANCE WAS BEING OFFERED TO PROTECT MOROCCO AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION WHICH WAS PRO-COMMUNIST AND FINANCED BY THE LIBYANS AND ALGERIANS.

5. AS EXPECTED, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT PRESIDENT SADAT'S SEPTEMBER ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOTHING TO HELP EGYPT'S POSITION AT THE HAVANA SUMMIT (O.CA9877). WE UNDERSTAND THAT AT HAVANA, THE AFRICANS WERE ANNOYED AND WHILE THEY MAY NOT HAVE CHANGED THEIR VOTING POSITION AS A RESULT OF THE EGYPTIAN DECISION, THEY WERE CERTAINLY LESS INCLINED TO BE OF ANY ASSISTANCE OR DO ANY LOBBYING ON EGYPT'S BEHALF. INDEED THE TIMING OF THE EGYPTIAN ANNOUNCEMENT GIVES FURTHER CREDENCE TO THE VIEW IN O.CA9935 (PARA 3) THAT EVEN BEFORE THE MEETING STARTED, SADAT WAS NOT REALLY BOTHERED ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE HAVANA SUMMIT.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

JBAE
JBAM

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP
DC	FAS(NUC)	NS	NP	FAS(IOC)	IO
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)		FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)
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U N C L A S S I F I E D

WESTERN SAHARA

FRENCH LANGUAGE DAILY EL MOUDJAHID OF 11 SEPTEMBER CARRIED STORY OF COMMENCEMENT OF MOROCCAN WIRHDRAWAL FROM MAURITANIA. THE ARTICLE, QUOTING OFFICIAL MAURITANIAN SOURCES, NOTED THAT A FIRST CONVOY OF 3,300 MOROCCAN TROOPS HAD LEFT THE NORTHERN MAURITANIAN MINING TOWN OF ZOERATE ON THE MORNING OF 10 SEPTEMBER WITH AN ESCORT OF 500 MAURITANIAN TROOPS.

2. THE MOROCCANS WOULD BE ESCORTED TO ANOTHER MOROCCAN GARRISON AT BIR MOGHRAIN IN THE EXTREME NORTH OF MAURITANIA, FROM WHERE THEY WERE EXPECTED TO HEAD DUE WEST TO GUELTAU, THE NEAREST MOROCCAN GARRISON IN THAT PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA ORIGINALLY INCORPORATED INTO MOROCCO IN 1975. THE WITHDRAWAL OPERATION WAS EXPECTED TO TAKE UP TO 48 HOURS. THE MAURITANIAN SOURCES WERE ALSO CITED AS SAYING THAT 4500 MOROCCAN TROOPS HAD BEEN STATIONED IN MAURITANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
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DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
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ACCRA CAIRO LAGOS LONDON MADRID TRIPOLI

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA - MOROCCAN WITHDRAWAL FROM MAURITANIA

'LE MONDE' REPORTS IN ITS 11 SEPTEMBER EDITION THAT THE MOROCCAN PRIME MINISTER, MR MAATI BOUABID, HAS FORMALLY ADVISED THE MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE MOROCCAN FORCES IN MAURITANIA, CURRENTLY TOTALLING SOME 4,000, ARE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM 11 SEPTEMBER.

COMMENT

2. THE FACT THAT IN ADVISING OF THE WITHDRAWAL MR BOUABID SAID THAT HE TRUSTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ABOUT THEIR SAFE PASSAGE REFLECTS THE FACT THAT THE AVAILABILITY OF THE TROOPS WILL STRENGTHEN MOROCCO'S POSITION IN ITS CONTINUING WARFARE WITH POLITARIO WITH WHICH MAURITANIA IS NOW FORMALLY AT PEACE. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WILL BE ANY SERIOUS MAURITANIAN OBSTRUCTION.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME

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DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
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ACCRA CAIRO LAGOS LONDON MADRID TRIPOLI

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

UNGA 34 : PREPARATIONS

DISCUSSIONS AT THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT AT HAVANA ARE LIKELY TO HAVE IMPORTANT EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES TO MANY OF THE LEADING POLITICAL ISSUES AT UNGA 34 AND COULD WELL INFLUENCE THE MOOD AND TEMPER OF THE SESSION AS A WHOLE. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS MAY THEREFORE NEED SOME REVISION IN THE LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME AT HAVANA.

INDO-CHINA ISSUES:

2. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHERE AND HOW EACH OF THE SEVERAL ITEMS RELATING TO INDO-CHINA WILL BE HANDLED, ALTHOUGH THE ISSUES INVOLVED ARE LIKELY TO FEATURE PROMINENTLY IN STATEMENTS IN THE GENERAL DEBATE. INDO-CHINESE REFUGEES ARE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE TAKEN UNDER ITEM 83 (SEE PARAGRAPH 17 BELOW). THE ISSUE OF KAMPUCHEAN CREDENTIALS SEEMS BOUND TO COME TO PLENARY AT AN EARLY STAGE AND WHATEVER THE OUTCOME AT HAVANA SEEMS LIKELY TO GIVE RISE TO A PROTRACTED AND BITTER DEBATE ABOUT THE CURRENT SECURITY AND POLITICAL SITUATION. THIS IN TURN COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HANDLING OF THE ASEAN ITEM ON KAMPUCHEA. SOME ASEAN MISSIONS WERE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEIR ITEM TAKEN IN PLENARY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE GENERAL DEBATE BUT THE FINAL DECISION WILL BE MADE BY THEIR FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN NEW YORK ON 29 SEPTEMBER. AS TO THE PROBLEM OF FAMINE AND RELIEF OPERATIONS IN KAMPUCHEA, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT YET DECIDED HOW IT WANTS TO PROCEED: ONE POSSIBILITY BEING CONSIDERED BY THE SECRETARIAT IS THE CONVENING OF A PLEDGING CONFERENCE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHICH WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF SEPARATING THE POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS.

PLENARY

3. THE MOST IMPORTANT PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE PLENARY WILL BE THE DEBATES ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN ITEMS. THESE HAVE TENDED IN THE PAST TO BE SOMEWHAT FORMALISED AND REPETITIVE WITH SIMILAR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS, OFTEN IN TERMS OBJECTIONABLE TO US, BEING ADOPTED YEAR AFTER YEAR. THIS COMPARATIVELY STATIC SOLUTION COULD WELL CHANGE AT UNGA 34. THE MAJOR DEBATES ON THE MIDDLE EAST (ITEMS 24, 25 AND 51) WILL BE INFLUENCED BY THE ISRAELI- EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT AND THE PROBLEM OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION,

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THE CONSIDERATION OF THE REPORT ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN AUGUST, THE AFTERMATH OF ANDREW YOUNG'S RESIGNATION, THE INCREASING SOPHISTICATION OF PLO STRATEGY, AND DEVELOPMENTS AT HAVANA. WE COULD WELL BE CONFRONTED BY DRAFT RESOLUTIONS SEEKING TO ADVANCE PLO POSITIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION, BY SUBTLER MEANS THAN IN THE PAST WHICH COULD CREATIVE NEW DIFFICULTIES FOR US. REPORTING BY OUR MIDDLE EAST POSTS DURING THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE DEBATE WILL BE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

4. CONSIDERATION OF NAMIBIA (ITEM 27) AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA (ITEM 91) WILL ALSO DEPEND ON EVENTS IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AS WESTERN INITIATIVES ARE DEVELOPED. IN THE CASE OF NAMIBIA MANY DELEGATIONS CONSIDER THAT BY THE TIME OF THE DEBATE, I.E. EARLY DECEMBER, THE WESTERN FIVE SHOULD BE ABLE TO REPORT, IF NOT A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL PROPOSALS, AT LEAST MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARDS AGREEMENT - OR OTHERWISE FACE A JUDGEMENT BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THAT THEIR INITIATIVE HAS FAILED AND A STRONGER CALL FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA THAN IN THE PAST.

5. THE APPARENT DETERMINATION OF THE BRITISH RUGBY UNION TO ARRANGE A TOUR BY SOUTH AFRICANS A FEW MONTHS BEFORE THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS COULD WELL FOCUS ATTENTION ONCE AGAIN ON SPORTING LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN THE DEBATE ON ITEM 28 (B).

FIRST COMMITTEE

6. ALTHOUGH NO ITEMS STAND OUT AS LIKELY TO BE DOMINANT IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE (OUR 0.UN14937 AND 0.UN14972) THE CZECHOSLOVAK ITEM (ITEM 122) IS SHAPING UP AS POTENTIALLY THE MOST DIFFICULT, MANILY BECAUSE THE OUTCOME IS AT PRESENT UNPREDICTABLE. THE MAIN PROBLEM WITH THIS ITEM IS THE LACK OF ANY CLEAR AGREEMENT, AT THIS STAGE, AMONGST WESTERN STATES ON HOW TO TACKLE IT. WE ARE NOT CONFIDENT THAT THE WEST WILL COME UP WITH A UNIFIED POSITION OR, IF IT DOES, THAT IT WILL STICK TO IT. WHILE THIS ITEM WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST AS A WHOLE, WE WOULD SEE AUSTRALIA'S EFFORTS MORE REALISTICALLY AND PROFITABLY FOCUSSED ON ITEMS OF MORE DIRECT RELEVANCE TO US, SUCH AS CD RELATED ITEMS AND PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH NUCLEAR ISSUES. IN THIS REGARD ITEMS WHICH ARE CLEARLY THE MORE IMPORTANT AND WHICH WILL RECEIVE THE GREATEST ATTENTION ARE THE POSSIBLE YUGOSLAV CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, CTB, NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONES, INDIAN OCEAN, WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, MORATORIUM, NEGATIVE SECURITY GUARANTEES AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES.

7. BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ARE HAMPERED BY THE NAM AND SUMMER VACATIONS, BUT FOLLOWING A MEETING OF THE NINE IN DUBLIN THIS WEEK THE FIRST BARTON GROUP MEETING SHOULD BE HELD SHORTLY.

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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8. THE NEXT INDIAN OCEAN AD-HOC COMMITTEE WHICH WAS TO MEET ON 17-22 SEPTEMBER HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL EARLY OCTOBER. AS MOST OF THE MAIN PLAYERS ARE IN HAVANA WE WILL DELAY OUR SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS UNTIL CLOSER TO THE TIME OF THE MEETING.

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

9. MIDDLE EAST QUESTIONS, CONTINUING PRESSURE BY SOME OF THE G.77 FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION ORDER AND THE QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE RELEVANT ORGANS WILL BE THE MAIN ISSUES PREOCCUPYING THE SPC.

10. THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES ARISING UNDER OUTER SPACE ITEMS WILL BE THE CONFERENCE AND THE MOON TREATY. ALTHOUGH IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ANY OUTER SPACE ISSUES WILL PROVE DIFFICULT THE LATINS COULD CAUSE SOME PROBLEMS OVER THE AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE. DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON OUTER SPACE ISSUES WERE SENT BY SAFE HAND BAG NO. 56 OF 5 SEPTEMBER.

SECOND COMMITTEE

11. ENERGY IS LIKELY TO BE A CENTRAL (AND SENSITIVE) VISSUE FOR THE SECOND COMMITTEE. BOTH THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION OF INCREASED OIL PRICES AND INSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS FOR AN ENERGY DIALOGUE ARE LIKELY TO FIGURE PROMINENTLY. THE INITIATIVE BY MEXICAN PRESIDENT LOPEZ PORTILLO FOR A GLOBAL ENERGY DIALOGUE AND THE ALGERIAN SUGGESTION OF A GLOBAL CIEC-TYPE DIALOGUE (AS ENDORSED OR MODIFIED IN HAVANA) WILL PROVIDE THE BASIS AROUND WHICH DEBATE WILL REVOLVE.

12. PROGRESS (OR LACK THEREOF) IN THE IDS NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE REVIEWED. SIMILARLY THE RATHER SCANTY RESULTS OF THE THREEE SESSIONS OF THE COW IN 1979 WILL BE ASSESSED. DECISIONS WILL BE TAKEN ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE 1980 SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AND THIS COULD BECOME A DOMINANT ISSUE. PRESSURE MAY BE MOUNTED TO SPEED UP PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE ON NEW AND RENEWABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY, TO TAKE PLACE IN 1981.

13. THE FACT THAT THE HAVANA MEETING OF THE NAM IS TAKING PLACE SO SOON BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THAT SO LITTLE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED DURING 1979 IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IDS AND COW, LEAVES THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IN A STATE OF FLUX AND THE DIRECTION WHICH DEBATES IN THE SECOND COMMITTEE WILL TAKE IS, AT THIS STAGE, DIFFICULT TO GAUGE.

14. THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SITUATION MAY ALSO BECOME A MATTER OF CLOSE ATTENTION. DEPENDING ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TDB, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO PRESS FURTHER AUSTRALIA'S CONCERN WITH INFLATION, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND PROTECTIONISM.

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15. OTHER MATTERS OF IMPORTANCE WHICH MAY ARISE WITHIN THE SECOND COMMITTEE WOULD INCLUDE HUMANITARIAN AID TO KAMPUCHEA, PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS ON TNC'S AND ILLICIT PAYMENTS, ACTION (FOLLOWING UNCTAD V) DIRECTED TOWARDS THE NEEDS OF THE LLDS'S: AND FOLLOW UP TO UNCTAD

THIRD COMMITTEE

16. PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THE CHAIRMAN-DESIGNATE (SOBHY, EGYPT) TO DIVIDE THE WORK OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE INTO TWO SECTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AND SOCIAL/CULTURAL ISSUES. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THERE WOULD BE A GENERAL DEBATE ON EACH SECTION RATHER THAN SEPARATE DEBATES ON EACH AGENDA ITEM. INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS SUGGEST THAT THESE PROPOSALS MAY BE BORADLY ACCEPTABLE, AND IF ADOPTED THEY MAY SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE. IT IS FURTHER PROPOSED THAT THE CHAIRMAN KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE. WE WILL BE INTERESTED TO SEE TO WHAT EXTENT NIEO AND RELATED ISSUES INTRUDE INTO THIRD COMMITTEE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS.

17. OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL REGIONAL GROUPS SUGGEST THAT NO SIGNIFICANT INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN FORMULATED FOR THIS SESSION. ITEMS OF ITEREST UNDER THE HUMAN RIGHTS UMBRELLA ARE LIKELY TO BE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION, (INCLUDING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIANS), CHILE, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (AN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT IS TO BE RELEASED LATE SEPTEMBER) AND PROPOSALS TO ENFORCE THE DIVISION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

18. THE SECRETARY GENERAL INTENDS TO PRESENT HIS REPORT ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON INDO-CHINESE REFUGEES UNDER ITEM 83. THE CHAIRMAN HAS PROPOSED TO INCLUDE THIS ITEM IN THE SOCIAL/CULTURAL SECTION OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK. THERE IS AT PRESENT SOME DIPOSITION AMONG WEOG MISSIONS TO FEEL THAT THE STRONG ATTACKS ON VIETNAM SHOULD BE AVOIDED UNLESS THE REFUGEE EXODUS HAS AGAIN ASSUMED ALARMING DIMENSIONS. THERE IS NO REASON HOWEVER WHY SPEAKERS SHOULD NOT ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF BASIC CAUSES UNDER THIS ITEM.

19. IT IS HOPED THAT THE DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN WILL BE FINALISED AND ADOPTED AT THIS SESSION.

FOURTH COMMITTEE

20. THE FOLLOWING WILL BE THE MAJOR ITEMS IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE:

A. RHODESIA

THE LUSAKA DECLARATION, AND ANY RECOMMENDATIONS COMING FROM THE

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5-0.UN15121

HAVAN NAM, WILL BE FACTORS INFLUENCING THIS YEAR'S CONSIDERATION OF RHODESIA. THE FOURTH COMMITTEE HAS TRADITIONALLY TAKEN RHODESIA AS ONE OF ITS FIRST ITEMS BUT SHOULD THE LONDON MEETING BE STILL CONTINUING WHEN THE COMMITTEE MEETS, IT WOULD BE BEST FOR DEBATE TO BE POSTPONED AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. WE EXPECT TO CONCERT CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH ON THE HANDLING OF THE ITEM. BRIEFING ON AUSTRALIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT ARMED FORCES WOULD BE USEFUL, EVEN IF ONLY FOR OUR OWN BACKGROUND INFORMATION IN COUNTERING EXAGGERATED PF CHARGES.

B. MILITARY BASES

NOW THAT A FORMULATION TO COVER THE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN GUAM HAS BEEN ENDORSED, WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES RELATING TO MILITARY BASES ON THE PARTICULAR TERRITORIES OF GUAM, BERMUDA, TURKS AND CAICOS AND THE BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS. IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24, HOWEVER, THE BULGARIANS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO THE PRESENCE OF MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO FOLLOW-UP IN THE COMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATION OF ITS ITEM ON MILITARY ACTIVITIES, ATTEMPTS MIGHT BE RENEWED BY THE EAST EUROPEANS TO HAVE THE FOURTH COMMITTEE ADOPT A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE PRESENCE OF ALL MILITARY FACTIONS IN COLONIAL TERRITORIES.

C. SAHARA

WITH THE CHANGE IN THE MAURITANIAN POSITION, THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE LAST OAU SUMMIT AND THE EXPECTED FORMULATION THAT WILL COME FROM THE HAVANA NAM WE THINK IT PROBABLE THAT THIS YEAR, WHILE TWO COMPETING RESOLUTIONS MAY AGAIN BE PUT FORWARD, ONLY THE PRO-POLISARIO TEXT WILL BE ADOPTED. IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT OUR POSITION OF SUPPORTING BOTH RESOLUTIONS WILL NEED TO BE REVIEWED.

D. TIMOR

SOME ATTENTION MAY BE FOCUSED ON TIMOR IF, AS HORTA HAS FORECAST, A LARGE NUMBER OF PETITIONERS COME BEFORE THE COMMITTEE. WE WOULD SEE NO PROMINENT ROLE FOR AUSTRALIA IN THE COMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION BUT WE MAY NEED TO SPEAK IN EXPLANATION OF VOTE BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF ANY RESOLUTION. IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR US TO HAVE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN TIMOR TO DRAW UPON WHEN APPROACHED BY DELEGATIONS.

E. FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT DISCUSSION OF THIS ITEM WILL BE AS CONTENTIOUS AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS. THE COMMITTEE OF 24'S CONSIDERATION OF THE ITEM THIS YEAR SHOWED NO DISPOSITION ON THE PART

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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OF THE EAST EUROPEANS OR ITS MORE RADICAL SUPPORTERS TO SEEK ANY CONSENSUS.

F. FRENCH PACIFIC TERRITORIES

THERE IS NO INDICATION AT THIS POINT THAT ANY DELEGATION, PACIFIC OR NON-PACIFIC, WILL TAKE UP FORMALLY THE QUESTION OF THE FRENCH PACIFIC TERRITORIES AT UNGA 34. MARAGAU (PNG) HAS TOLD US THAT HE HAS HAD NO (UNDERLINE ONE) REACTION FROM ANY DELEGATION (EXCEPT THE PACIFIC ONES) SINCE HIS STATEMENT ON NEW CALEDONIA IN THE COMMITTEE OF 24. MARAGAU SAID THAT HE HAD HEARD THAT UREGEI, ACCOMPANIED BY TWO OR THREE SUPPORTERS, WOULD SOON BE ARRIVING IN NEW YORK TO FOLLOW UNGA 34. MARAGAU CONFIRMED THAT PNG WOULD OFFER THEM EVERY SUPPORT SEEKING APPOINTMENTS, LOBBYING ON THEIR BEHALF ETC. MARAGAU ADDED THAT IN HIS LOBBYING HE WOULD BE TELLING DELEGATES THAT PNG COULD BE EXPECTED TO INITIATE MOVES TO HAVE AN ITEM ON THE FRENCH PACIFIC TERRITORIES INSCRIBED ON THE AGENDA FOR UNGA 35. COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF THE NEW HEBRIDES WILL DEPEND ON THE CURRENT STATE OF PLAY IN THE TERRITORY AND ON WHETHER ANY PETITIONERS COME TO NEW YORK TO STIR UP THE EMBERS.

FIFTH COMMITTEE

21. MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS OF 5TH COMMITTEE WILL BE SETTING A NEW SCALE OF ASSESSMENT AND THE BUDGET. THIRTY NINE COUNTRIES HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED ASSESSMENTS, ESPECIALLY AUSTRALIA, (SEE PARAGRAPH 4 MCC1286 FOR KEY ISSUES). BUDGET GROWTH IS REPORTED TO BELOW BUT LARGE CONTRIBUTORS MAY CONSIDER IT HIGH AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MAY FEEL IT HAS BEEN TOO CONSTRAINED.

22. UNITED NATIONS INDEBTEDNESS MAY NOT CAUSE SERIOUS DISCUSSION THIS YEAR. PERSONNEL QUESTIONS COULD HOWEVER BE CONTENTIOUS AS INCREASED ASSESSMENT SCALES INCREASE ENTITLEMENT TO STAFF IN SECRETARIAT AND MOVES COULD BE MADE TO CHANGE BASIS OF ALLOCATION. NUMEROUS OTHER ISSUES ARE DUE TO ARISE BUT THERE IS AS YET NO INDICATION THAT SIGNIFICANT OR CONTENTIOUS ISSUES WILL FLOW FROM THEM.

23. A PRINCIPAL PROCCUPATION OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE WILL BE ITEM 115, HOSTAGE-TAKING. IT IS PLANNED (BY THE SECRETARIAT AND THE FRG) THAT THIS ITEM BE TAKEN FIRST AND FOLLOWING A SHORT GENERAL DEBATE A WORKING GROUP ESTABLISHED TO FINALISE THE DRAFT CONVENTION. THE WORKING GROUP IS EXPECTED TO MEET FOR AT LEAST FOUR WEEKS.

24. ALTHOUGH THE ROMANIANS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN TALKING ABOUT THEIR ITEM (124) BEING CONSIDERED IN PLENARY, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT IT WILL BE DEALT WITH BY THE SIXTH COMMITTEE. OTHER THAN THIS OUR OUN14887 SETS OUT PRESENT THINKING.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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25. THE COMMITTEE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY THIS YEAR TO DECIDE IF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON TERRORISM HAS COMPLETED ITS MANDATE. UNLESS NEW PROPOSALS ARE PUT FORWARD THIS COULD PROVE TO BE THE CASE.

26. PERHAPS THE ONLY OTHER ITEMS WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED AS BEING MAIN ITEMS ARE CHARTER REVIEW (116), NON USE OF FORCE (118) AND THE ILC REPORT (109). THE FIRST TWO ARE EXPECTED TO BE DEALT WITH IN TRADITIONAL FASHION. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE UNITED STATES IS CONSIDERING PROPOSING THAT DEBATE ON THE ILC REPORT BE STREAMLINED IN AN EFFORT TO AVOID THE USUAL PROTRACTED ANALYTICAL DEBATE.

26. DEVELOPMENTS ON MULTILATERAL TREATY MAKING ARE OF COURSE WELL KNOWN TO YOU.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ACTION: IO

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		FAS(DEF)	FAS(NUC)	
FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)		INF	FAS(ECO)	EO
FAS(LT)	GLT	IL	FAS(MFS)		

CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD BB MESSAGE

O. PA068273 IOM

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TO.

BB CANBERRA/112

RP.

BB ANKARA/39 ATHENS/47 BELGRADE/68 BERLIN/41
BB BERNE/48 BONN/102 BRUSSELS/102 CAIRO/78
BB COPENHAGEN/93 DUBLIN/99 THE HAGUE/107 LISBON/48
BB LONDON/117 MADRID/65 MOSCOW/89 NOUMEA/89
BB OTTAWA/56 PEKING/50 ROME/99 STOCKHOLM/61
BB TEL AVIV/63 VIENNA/61 WARSAW/47 WASHINGTON/105

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE NO. 202/2

R E S T R I C T E D

FRANCE IN AUGUST

Summer normally sees a major slump in all aspects of French life other than those associated with holiday-making, and 1979 was no exception. The economy, however, attracted some attention. Rises in fuel prices, rail fares, electricity charges and some food costs provoked a new round of criticism of government economic policies, coinciding with the third anniversary of Prime Minister Barre's appointment. While external factors such as oil price increases are substantially responsible for Barre's failure to achieve his own objectives, an inflation rate of 12-13%, unemployment at a new record of 1.4 million and continuing sluggishness in general economic activity mean that Barre is increasingly becoming the target for dissatisfaction. Perceiving the need for some sugar coating in the politically-charged post-holiday period, and with the desire to trim back the unemployment figure as a major factor, the Government announced measures designed to reduce the impact of current conditions on families and the elderly and to stimulate the construction sector.

2. The Socialists, who see voter support for their party being eroded, were stimulated at this traditional time of stocktaking to make hesitant and ambiguous suggestions that the possibilities of a rapprochement between themselves and the Communists be investigated. The Communists, while being less than enchanted by the sound of this old siren song, have grudgingly agreed to discuss a new Union of the Left: a straight-out refusal would have disappointed the many left-wing voters who still hope for a broad left coalition and who still have not grasped that both the Socialist and Communist leaders cynically see such a Union only in terms of strengthening themselves at the other's expense. Neither is prepared to make real concessions; the basic policy differences and the rivalry for dominance which caused the collapse of the Union in 1977 remain as strong as ever.

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INWARD² BB MESSAGE **RESTRICTED**

It is only the remoteness of any possibility of a leftist government which allows scope for the re-establishment of some union to be conceivable.

3. The French government has responded cautiously to the Western Sahara situation, issuing a statement which underlines French support for Mauritania and thus represents a slight move away from Morocco though without specifically endorsing the Mauritania-Polisario peace agreement. (Both the Communists and the Socialists, particularly M. Marchais during a visit to Algeria, have been quicker to express support for Polisario.)

4. France has been happy to stay on the sidelines of the American-Israeli quarrel over contacts with the PLO, but issued a statement sharply criticising Israel's bombings in Lebanon. The French Ambassador in Beirut said France would support any measure adopted by the Security Council to strengthen UNIFIL's capacity to intervene.

5. The publication of a book on French defence policy sparked a public debate over the degree to which the increasing cost to France of maintaining an independent defence capability might oblige France to participate in Europe-wide defence cooperation which could extend to nuclear weaponry.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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INWARD BB MESSAGE

TO.
BB CANBET/66

RP.
BB LISBON/85
BB BERNE/71
BB ROME/83
BB PARIS EMB/84
BB LONDON/85
BB WASHINGTON/50

BRUSSELS/84
DUBLIN/71
BONN/78
ATHENS/68
NEW YORK UN/13
MOSCOW/38

VIENNA/72
THE HAGUE/73
COPENHAGEN/70
STOCKHOLM/70
ALGIERS/26
BELGRADE/34

935/28/2

FM. MADRID / File 201.1.1.1

R E S T R I C T E D

DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN - AUGUST 1979

Violence and economic problems continued. The Catalonian Statute of Autonomy was approved by the Cortes. There were a number of anti-nuclear demonstrations. Spanish relations with France and Morocco deteriorated.

The program of legislation to implement the new Constitution, approved by the government in June, was already in arrears at the beginning of August, but by the end of the month it was up to date except for the bill on the central administration of the state. Terrorism continued in the Basque Country, but diminished in Madrid, though here as elsewhere considerable dislocation was caused periodically by false bomb warnings, which necessitated the evacuation of transport centres, office buildings and shops.

In the face of the serious economic situation in the Basque Country the Basque General Council approved a plan for stimulating the economy over a period of three years, preceded by a three-month emergency phase, during which trade unions, employers' organizations, financiers and the government would participate in negotiations aimed at political stability, social peace, economic co-operation and the encouragement of investment to reduce unemployment. Jesús María de Leizaola, president of the Basque government-in-exile (dating from 1937), stated that violence in the Basque Country would lose popular support and come to an end when its causes had disappeared with the coming into force of the Statute of Autonomy and an amnesty - a view that was supported also by Carlos Garaikoetxea, president of the Basque General Council, and Txiki Benegas, secretary of the Socialist Party of Euskadi. With the symbolic return of the Basque government-in-exile under consideration, there was disagreement within the Basque Nationalist Party between those who favoured Leizaola's participating in the referendum campaign and those who thought he should return after the formation of the Basque regional government, to which the "legality" of his government could then be transferred. Seven parties agreed on a joint "yes" campaign for the referendum and Herri Batasuna decided to recommend abstention. In Catalonia there was little positive reaction to the successful negotiation and adoption by the Cortes of the draft Statute of Autonomy and Josep Tarradellas, the president of the Generalitat, was said to be seriously disappointed with its electoral provisions, which he considered too favourable to the left. In a press interview Alejandro Rojas Marcos, leader of the Socialist Party of Andalusia, said that there were two distinct communities in Catalonia, Catalans and immigrants (mainly from Andalusia), whose interests were diametrically opposed, and that the Statute of Autonomy represented a victory for the Catalans over the immigrants. He also said that his party might contest the elections for the regional parliament in Catalonia, possibly forming a united front with representatives of immigrants from Galicia and Aragon. Discussions continued on proposals for autonomy in Andalusia, the Valencian Country, the Balearic Islands and Asturias. In the Canary Islands, according to the clandestine periodical Revolución Canaria, the executive committee of the pro-independence movement MPAIAC expelled its secretary-general, Antonio Cubillo, for refusing to abandon terrorism as a means of achieving the organization's objectives, and for regarding MPAIAC as his personal property, to its great disadvantage.

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The Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs, Fernando Abril Martorell, presented to the Congress of Deputies the government's short- and medium-term economic program, which he described as "flexible in its objectives, disciplined in its methods and designed basically to face up to the country's principal economic problem, unemployment". The program envisages for 1979 an inflation rate of 16 per cent, a real growth of about 2.5 per cent and an unemployment rate of 8 per cent of the work force, and it outlines ameliorative action in five fields: employment, the industrial sector, investment, the external sector and the public sector. Employers' organizations reacted favourably to the program, though expressing doubts about the government's ability to implement it and offering two serious criticisms (that it provided for insufficient control of public expenditure and inadequate fiscal reform). Trade unions and the left-wing political parties opposed the program on the grounds that it would be harmful to the less favoured sections of the community and that, in any case, it would not work without agreement between the political parties, the workers and the employers.

The government's decision to authorize the construction of three more nuclear-power stations aroused considerable opposition and strengthened support for anti-nuclear marches and other demonstrations, particularly in the Basque Country and Extremadura. In the province of Badajoz the mayors of 128 municipalities, representing almost all political persuasions, met in a small town near the proposed site of one of the nuclear-power stations and locked themselves in the town hall indefinitely with the aim of persuading the government to cancel its decision, because of the adverse effects of the establishment of the nuclear-power stations on irrigation in the province and the fact that the decision had been made without consulting the population of the area. The mayors and their sympathizers welcomed the decision of their counterparts across the Portuguese border to request the Portuguese government to intercede with the Spanish government with the aim of reversing the decision to establish the nuclear-power stations.

The negative balance of trade increased considerably in the first six months of this year, reaching \$US2669 million as compared with \$US1975 million in the first six months of 1978. Earnings from tourism during this period amounted to \$US2292 million (more than \$US500 million above last year's figures) and foreign investment was almost twice that of 1978. The consumer price index increased 9.7 per cent during the first seven months of the year, but the increase in July was disproportionately high (2.3 per cent) because of increased energy costs.

It was announced that later this year the Prime Minister, Adolfo Suárez, would visit all members of the European Communities and also the United States, and that the King would visit Sweden and would address the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Spanish relations with France deteriorated because of continued criticism by some Spaniards that France is not co-operative enough in dealing with Basque dissidents, and by others that it is assisting the Spanish government in repressing regional sentiment; because the French cannot understand why Spain, an aspirant for membership of the European Communities, should "flirt with the non-aligned"; because the Spanish press has criticized French intervention in Africa but not Spanish "intervention in Equatorial Guinea, Nicaragua and the Western Sahara"; and because of assistance given to Corsican nationalists by the Basque Nationalist Party and the Democratic Convergence of Catalonia. The Minister for Finance of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hans Matthöfer, paid a three-day private visit to Spain, during which he held discussions with PSOE and trade union leaders and several members of the government.

Spain was quick to recognize the new regime of Obiang Nguema in Equatorial Guinea, to send aid to restore the country's economy and to appoint an ambassador to re-establish the close links that previously existed between the two countries but had been severed by the hostile policy of Francisco Macías. Spain acted with restraint following Morocco's occupation of the southern area of the Sahara, merely noting that this effectively altered the provisions of the Tripartite Agreement of Madrid on the

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INWARD BB MESSAGE

Sahara and of the Spanish-Mauritanian fishing agreement. Nevertheless, tension between Spain and Morocco grew as a result of a statement by the Spanish Minister for External Affairs, Marcelino Oreja, to the press that the Sahara was "now, as in the past, an international territory" and that Morocco did not "enjoy sovereignty in the Sahara, but was there as the administrator of the territory". The tension further increased when the Moroccan press cast doubt on the Spanish character of the Canary Islands, a delicate subject for Spain on which Morocco had previously adopted a moderate position. Because of tension in the area the Spanish navy advised Spanish fishermen to leave the Canaries-Saharan bank, thus adding to the problems of the fishing industry. Spain reported to the United Nations that a Spanish company found to have taken part in illegal sales of arms to South Africa would be prosecuted. During a visit to Indonesia by the president of the National Institute of Industry plans were discussed for increased trade and technical co-operation between the two countries, particularly in the fields of aircraft-manufacture, ship-building, oil-refining, the production of fertilizers and the provision of equipment for electric-power stations. Spain and the Maldive Islands agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

The Prime Minister, Adolfo Suárez, paid visits to Brazil, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. In Ecuador, among other things, he received an invitation for Spain to be represented as an observer at the meeting of foreign ministers of the Andine Pact to be held in Caracas later in the month, during which Spain shared in formulating a joint policy to be followed during the non-aligned summit in Havana. The new government of Venezuela cancelled several economic and financial agreements with Spain signed by its predecessor, including the agreement with a Spanish-Canadian consortium to construct a railway line near Caracas. Spain and Canada signed an agreement permitting Spanish fishermen to fish in the Canadian 200-mile exclusive economic zone. A delegation of members of the United States Congress visited Spain and discussed economic and defence matters.

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NONALIGNED-SAHARA

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HAVANA SEPT 5 (AFP)- MOROCCAN KING HASSAN TWO HAS CALLED FOR AN ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CHAIRED HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT SUMMIT TO DISCUSS THE SAHARA PROBLEM.

A COPY OF THE KING'S MESSAGE TO OAU CHAIRMAN WILLIAM TOLBERT OF LIBERIA WAS RELEASED TODAY OUTSIDE THE NONALIGNED NATIONS SUMMIT HERE IN THE CUBAN PAITAL.

KING HASSAN'S MESSAGE, DATED AUG 28, SAID THE PROPOSED SAHARAN SUMMIT SHOULD BE ATTENDED BY LEADERS OF ALL COUNTRIES BORDERING THE SAHARA, PLUS THE OAU WISEMEN'S COMMITTEE.

THE SUMMIT COULD ALSO ELABORATE A POLICY OF THE RIGHT TO THE SEA, A RIGHT THAT WOULD BE "INDISPENSABLE" BY THE YEAR 2000 AND WHICH SOME SAHRAN BORDER STATES AND AFRICAN LANDLOCKED STATES DID NOT HAVE, THE COPY OF THE MESSAGE SAID.

IT REJECTED CLAIMS THAT A SAHARAQUI PEOPLE EXISTED, AND POINTED OUT THAT "THE SAHARAN TERRITORY SPREADS FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE RED SEA."

(THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT HERE IS SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE, INVOLVING MOROCCO, ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA. THE THREE ARE NONALIGNED)/1
AFP/GN

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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TO.
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RP.
RR ALGIERS/502 CAIRO/285 WASHINGTON/1447
RR UN NEW YORK/787

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7 REF O.CA9877

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA

IN A STATEMENT ON 3 SEPTEMBER, REPORTED IN 'LE MONDE'S' 5 SEPTEMBER EDITION, MOROCCAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ABDERRAHMAN BADDOU HAS WELCOMED PRESIDENT SADAT'S OFFER OF MILITARY SUPPORT.

2. THIS FIRST INDICATION OF ANY SUPPORT FROM ANOTHER MIDDLE EAST POWER FOR MOROCCO'S CONTINUING DETERMINATION TO RETAIN ITS HOLD IN WESTERN SAHARA WILL COME AS A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE COMFORT FOR KING HASSAN'S GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH AS OBSERVED IN CAIRO'S REFTEL THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES ARE BY NO MEANS YET CLEAR. THE EGYPTIAN OFFER FOLLOWS HASSAN'S SUGGESTION TO THE OAU ON 30 AUGUST THAT IT WAS TIME TO MOVE FROM THE 'FALSE PROBLEM' OF THE WESTERN SAHARA TO A CONSIDERATION OF THE PRESSING DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES OF THE SAHARAN REGION, PARTICULARLY THAT OF ACCESS TO THE SEA FOR LAND-LOCKED COUNTRIES. TO THAT END HE CALLED FOR A CONFERENCE GROUPING THE STATES BORDERING THE SAHARA AND THE OAU'S SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON WESTERN SAHARA (GUINEA, SUDAN, MALI, NIGERIA AND TANZANIA). WHILE THIS SUGGESTION IS UNLIKELY TO BE TAKEN UP AND WHILE THE 'ACCESS TO THE SEA' ISSUE IS LITTLE MORE THAN A RED HERRING DESIGNED TO HINT AT ULTERIOR MOTIVES FOR MAURITANIAN AND ALGERIAN SUPPORT FOR POLISARIO, THE EGYPTIAN OFFER MAY HELP TO GIVE SOME SUBSTANCE TO MOROCCO'S CLAIMS TO BE OPEN TO NEGOTIATIONS.

3. MEANWHILE PRESS REPORTS CONTINUE TO SUGGEST THAT MOROCCO IS MILITARILY OVER-EXTENDED, WITH ATTACKS BEING SUSTAINED WELL WITHIN THE SOUTHERN PART OF MOROCCAN TERRITORY PROPER. POLISARIO UNITS ARE REPORTEDLY BASING THEMSELVES IN MALI AS WELL AS MAURITANIA AND THEIR EXISTING STRONGHOLDS IN ALGERIA, PARTICULARLY IN THE TINDOUF REGION (TO WHICH MOROCCO LAYS CLAIM ON HISTORICAL GROUNDS). ALGERIA AND LIBYA, ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, ARE ESTABLISHING ANTI-AIRCRAFT BASES EQUIPPED WITH SOVIET SAMS : LIBYA'S INVOLVEMENT ON THE POLISARIO SIDE, MAY WELL HAVE ENCOURAGED EGYPT TO TAKE UP THE MOROCCAN CAUSE.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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4. SADAT, IN LOOKING TO KING HASSAN AS A POSSIBLE RECRUIT IN SUPPORT OF THE PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL, HAS CHOSEN A FAIRLY EASY TARGET : KING HASSAN'S INCLINATION HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN ALL ALONG TO SUSTAIN HIS LONG-STANDING CLOSENESS WITH SADAT, AND WHILE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND PARTY POLITICAL ADVICE PRVAILED MOROCCO'S NEW ALIGNMENT WITH THE REJECTIONISTS HAS BEEN NEITHER ENTHUSIASTIC NOR CONVINCING.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION: AME

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JBAM

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	NS	NP	FAS(IOC)	IO
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	
FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S			

ACCRA BONN BRUSSELS GENEVA LAGOS MADRID MOSCOW TEHRAN
TRIPOLI

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Thirty-fourth General Assembly
Fourth Committee
3rd Meeting (AM)



GA/T/2276
3 October 1979

935/2812

FOURTH COMMITTEE BEGINS CONSIDERATION OF ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN
ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS IMPEDING DECOLONIZATION

Grants Requests for Hearings on Bermuda, East Timor and Western Sahara

The Fourth Committee (Decolonization) this morning began consideration of the activities of foreign economic and other interests impeding decolonization in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and all other Territories under colonial domination with the introduction of the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization.

The chapter of the report of the Special Committee of 24 (document A/34/23 (Part III)) was introduced by the Rapporteur of that Committee, Loutf A. Haydar (Syria).

Also this morning, the Committee granted requests for hearings from: the Bermuda Constitutional Conference, on the question of Bermuda, (document A/C.4/34/2); the Uniao Democratica Timorense (UDT) on the question of East Timor (document A/C.4/34/3); and the Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) on the question of Western Sahara (document A/C.4/34/4). On the question of East Timor, the representative of Indonesia opposed the request. Also before the Committee on that item is a letter from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the Chairman of the Committee (document A/C.4/34/5).

On the question of Western Sahara, the representative of Morocco opposed the request to hear a petitioner from the Frente POLISARIO until he had further time to study the request. He asked that the Committee take the decision on the request at its next meeting. During discussion of the matter, several delegations asked that a decision be taken today.

After consultation with the Secretariat, the Chairman, Thomas S. Boya (Benin), said according to the information he had received the issue was not a substantive one, that it was a matter of principle, and he appealed to the representative of Morocco not to force the Committee to take a formal decision on the request. The representative of Morocco then made a statement on the question of Western Sahara and expressed again his strong opposition to the

(more)

appearance before the Committee of petitioners from the Frente POLISARIO. (Details of his statement and the discussion of the matter follow in this release.)

Also this morning, the Chairman announced that he had received three communications containing requests for hearings concerning East Timor. At his suggestion, the Committee decided that those communications should be circulated as documents and considered at a subsequent meeting.

The Committee will meet again tomorrow, Thursday, 4 October, at 3:00 p.m., when it will begin general debate on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories.

Press Release for Hearings on Bermuda, East Timor and Western Sahara

The Fourth Committee (Decolonization) this morning began consideration of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories. The activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories under colonial administration with the introduction of the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization.

The chapter of the report of the Special Committee of 24 (document A/C.4/33/23 (Part I)) was introduced by the Rapporteur of that Committee, Jouni A. Payan (Syria).

Also this morning, the Committee granted requests for hearings from: the Bermuda Constitutional Conference, on the question of Bermuda, (document A/C.4/33/23); the United Democratic Movement (UDM) on the question of East Timor, (document A/C.4/33/23); and the Frente Popular para a Libertação de Sagrada da Ilha de Timor (FRELIMO) on the question of Western Sahara, (document A/C.4/33/23). On the question of East Timor, the representative of Indonesia proposed the request. Also before the Committee on that item is a letter from the Chairman of the Committee (document A/C.4/33/23).

(page 2 follows)

On the question of Western Sahara, the representative of Morocco opposed the request to hear a petitioner from the Frente POLISARIO until he had further time to study the request. He asked that the Committee take the decision on the request at its next meeting. During discussion of the matter, several delegations asked that a decision be taken today.

After consultation with the Secretariat, the Chairman, Thomas S. Novak (Bermuda), said according to the information he had received the issue was not a substantive one, that it was a matter of principle, and he appealed to the representative of Morocco not to force the Committee to take a formal decision on the request. The representative of Morocco then made a statement on the question of Western Sahara and expressed again his strong opposition to the

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Foreign Economic and Other Interests Impeding Decolonization

The Fourth Committee (Decolonization) met this morning to take up the item on foreign economic and other interests impeding progress towards decolonization. This item has been on the Assembly's agenda since its twenty-second session in 1967. In its consideration of the item, the Committee will have before it the relevant part of the report of the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization (document A/34/23 (Part III)).

Findings of the Special Committee: In its report of 31 August 1979 on this item, the Special Committee of 24 notes that since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, most of the pertinent information on the state of the economy and the activities of foreign economic interests in Southern Rhodesia had been withheld by the illegal regime. Consequently, information available was largely of a general nature. The data available, the report notes, suggested that foreign economic and other interests, acting in co-operation with and supported by the illegal regime, continued to dominate the economy.

The mutual support between the illegal regime and business was evident, the report states, when examining the development of multipurpose conglomerates in the Territory. It appeared that as sanctions had begun to affect the economy, some firms in the more vulnerable sectors were the first to suffer shrinking profits and a shortage of capital. This had created a favourable situation for take-overs by other companies and such take-overs, resulting in the creation of conglomerates, were apparently encouraged by the illegal regime as a means of preventing the collapse of the business structure in the Territory.

The report states that in the last few years, owing to stricter sanctions, the intensification of guerrilla warfare and the general state of the world economy, even some of the conglomerates in the Territory had begun to experience financial difficulties.

According to the report, the illegal regime, as well as many companies operating in the Territory, were preparing plans to be put into operation once economic sanctions were lifted. The plan envisages that "finance for the country's development will come from international borrowing and international aid, mainly the United Nations and the World Bank".

However, the plans also expect to attract the co-operation of foreign economic interests, including transnational corporations, the report notes. Even without a political settlement, the report notes, the illegal regime "appears to be able to raise foreign loans despite United Nations sanctions". It states that: "It is suspected that these loans may go to support the war effort and possibly the faltering economy."

Regarding Namibia, the report notes that South Africa and other foreign interests had for years controlled the commercial sectors of the economy. In exchange for the opportunity to exploit the Territory's extensive mineral and other resources at great profit to themselves and in order to protect their

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existing investments, foreign interests had supported South Africa's illegal occupation of the Territory, both politically and financially, and had participated in and benefited from the practice of apartheid, which ensures a supply of cheap labour.

With the impetus generated by foreign investment, the commercial sector had expanded rapidly since 1960 as reflected in the gross domestic product. Profits earned by the foreign economic interests were not reinvested in the Territory, but were repatriated. Data showed that one third to one half of the gross domestic product was repatriated annually in the form of profits and dividends accruing to foreign shareholders in South Africa, Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere. As a result of the low wages paid and the repressive apartheid system, the African standard of living remained severely depressed.

The report notes that since the accession to independence of Angola and Mozambique, foreign interests were reported to have attempted to influence the political future of the Territory to their own advantage. Some reports suggested that the main problem was the dependence of the Western countries on South Africa and Namibia for supplies of a number of vital strategic minerals, for several of which the main alternative source would be the Soviet Union.

In 1978, reports indicated that mining companies in Namibia were seeking to safeguard their future interests in the Territory by giving financial support to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the political party in Namibia which supported and was supported by South Africa.

On Bermuda, the report cites evidence that the white population in the Territory had decreased, while the number of non-white Bermudians holding positions of responsibility in the civil service and the private sector had increased. Steps were being taken to ensure that qualified Bermudians were being offered suitable job opportunities.

Recalling that there was no indigenous population in the Territory at the time of its discovery, the report goes on to state that Bermuda would remain dependent on certain outside experts in business and other areas.

As for the Turks and Caicos Islands, the report of the Special Committee states that foreign investors, mainly from Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, had played a dominant role in the economic life of the Islands. It adds that the Island Government had continued to encourage outside business development, through such laws as the Companies Ordinance (1970), and the Encouragement of Development Ordinance (1972).

Regarding the Cayman Islands, the report states that international financial institutions situated there constituted one of the mainstays of the economy and were dominated by foreign companies, particularly those owned by interests from Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. The report

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adds that the financial industry contributed some 25 per cent of the Government's recurrent revenue and made a substantial indirect contribution to the economy through wage and rent payments and other local expenditures.

Decision of the Special Committee: On 8 August 1979, the Special Committee of 24 on decolonization reaffirmed the rights of the people of dependent Territories to the use of their natural resources, and reiterated that any administering or occupying Power which deprives the colonial peoples of those rights or subordinates those rights to foreign economic and other interests violates its obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The Special Committee further reaffirmed that by exploiting and depleting the natural resources of Zimbabwe and Namibia in association with the illegal racist minority regimes, the activities of foreign interests violated the rights of the peoples of those Territories and contributed to the strengthening of the colonialist domination of those territories by the racist regimes.

Further, the Committee condemned the foreign interests in the colonial Territories as impeding the General Assembly's 1960 Declaration on decolonization (resolution 1514 (XV)), and condemned the policies of Governments which continued to support or collaborate with those interests.

The Special Committee of 24 on decolonization also strongly condemned the continuing nuclear collaboration of certain Western countries and other States with South Africa.

It also called upon Governments which have not yet done so to take measures with respect to their nationals and bodies corporate under their jurisdiction who own or operate enterprises in colonial Territories as they are detrimental to the inhabitants of those Territories, and requested all States to refrain from any investments in or loans to the minority racist regimes in southern Africa. It further condemned the policies of States which violated the mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and reiterated that the scope of sanctions should be widened to include all measures under Article 41 of the Charter.

Also under the resolution, the Special Committee requested all States to end assistance to regimes which use such assistance to repress the peoples of colonial Territories and their national liberation movements, and called upon all States to discontinue relations with the racist regime of South Africa concerning Namibia.

The resolution also strongly condemned the continued collaboration of the Government of South Africa with the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia.

Additionally, the Special Committee invited all Governments and organizations within the United Nations system to ensure that sovereignty of the colonial Territories over their natural resources is respected, and

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requested the Secretary-General to undertake a publicity campaign to inform world public opinion of the facts concerning the pillaging of natural resources and the exploitation of the indigenous populations by foreign interests.

Finally, the Special Committee decided to keep the situation under continued review.

General Assembly Action: Last year under this item, the General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of dependent Territories to self-determination and independence and to the enjoyment of their natural resources, as well as their right to dispose of those resources in their best interests.

The Assembly also reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests in colonial Territories of southern Africa constitute a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of those Territories by the indigenous inhabitants.

Further, the Assembly condemned the "collusion" of all States which collaborated politically, diplomatically, economically and militarily with South Africa -- particularly Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The Assembly also condemned the "collusion" of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and the United States with South Africa in the nuclear field.

Also, the Assembly called upon all Governments which had not already done so to take legislative, administrative or other measures in respect to their nationals and the bodies corporate under their jurisdiction who own and operate enterprises in colonial Territories, particularly in Africa, which are detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of those Territories.

In addition, the General Assembly expressed its conviction that the scope of sanctions adopted by the Security Council against the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) should be expanded to cover all the measures contemplated in Article 41 of the Charter and called upon the Security Council to consider adopting appropriate measures to this end.

(Article 41 of the Charter gives the Security Council the power to decide what measures not involving the use of force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions. Under this article the Security Council may call upon United Nations Member States to apply measures such as complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.)

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Discussion on Request for Hearing on East Timor

Mr. JUWANA (Indonesia), referring to the request for a hearing on the question of East Timor from Paulo Pires, Secretary-General of the Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT) said the people of East Timor had carried out their right to self-determination by integrating into Indonesia on 17 July 1976 as its twenty-seventh province with equal rights and obligations as the other provinces.

The process of decolonization, he said, had thus been carried out in East Timor in conformity with the United Nations Charter and further consideration of the matter was inappropriate. He strongly opposed the participation of Mr. Pires before the Committee.

Discussion of Request for a Hearing on the Western Sahara

KHALIL HADDAOUI (Morocco), referring to the request for a hearing by the Frente POLISARIO, said that his delegation had just seen the document and wanted time to study it. He asked the Chairman to postpone a decision on the request.

ABDELHAMID SEMICHI (Algeria) said he was "surprised" to see that some delegations had just learned about the requests for hearings when the Chairman had announced he had received such requests at the meeting of 27 September. The question of deciding on requests for hearings was up to the Committee. It was not up to a delegation to oppose the decision of the Fourth Committee on the advisability of hearing a petitioner. The question of Western Sahara would be submitted before the Committee and then every delegation could present its case.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said that he did not deny any of the Committee's power. Each delegation had the right to study any document in order to make a contribution to the Committee's work. He only wanted some time before the next meeting to study the document.

The Chairman, THOMAS S. BOYA (Benin), said the document being discussed was published yesterday, not today, and the Committee had traditionally heard the POLISARIO petitioners. He asked the representative of Morocco to allow the Committee, as it had just done in the case of East Timor, to state that his statement would be included in the meeting records. He asked him to allow the Committee to continue its work and to take a decision.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said his delegation requested merely a minimum of impartiality. As a result of yesterday's events at Headquarters, his delegation did not receive the document until today. All he requested was that a decision be postponed until the next meeting.

Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria) said all "manoeuvres" aimed at delaying consideration of the subject by the Committee would serve no purpose. When a document which related to a decision to be taken by the Fourth Committee, was distributed, various delegations generally asked for time to consider it. But

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3 October 1979

the document under discussion was not a resolution. In keeping with its past practice, the Committee should not postpone taking this decision.

The CHAIRMAN asked the representative of Algeria if he was against delaying a decision on the matter.

ALEMAYEHU SEIFU (Ethiopia) supported the Chairman's proposal to adopt the request for a hearing by the POLISARIO Front. He would support the request of the representative of Morocco if the note had had any thing substantial regarding Western Sahara, but it was a straightforward request for a hearing and it should be granted.

APOLLINAIRE HACHEME (Benin) said he supported the statements of the representatives of Algeria and Ethiopia. There were no new elements in the request for a hearing, and a decision should be adopted now. The comments of the representative of Morocco should be reflected in the records.

The Chairman appealed to the representative of Morocco to allow the Committee to take a decision since the question involved no new elements.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said he was not using "delaying tactics or manoeuvres". Frankly, he had just looked at the documents. He was merely requesting that the Committee wait until the next meeting when it could hear Morocco's position.

The question was a fundamental one that had to do "with the defence of my territory". It was a question of substance. He appealed to the Committee to understand his position.

The CHAIRMAN said the question was one of principle and on which the Committee could not delay a decision. It was simply a question of the Committee accepting the request to hear a petitioner from the POLISARIO Front. He asked the representatives of Algeria, Ethiopia and Benin if they accepted the appeal of the representative of Morocco.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) asked if the Committee could postpone a decision until the end of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed that the representatives of Algeria, Ethiopia and Benin consult with each other while the Committee continued with its work.

The Committee then heard the Rapporteur of the Special Committee of 24 introduce the chapter of the Committee's report on the activities of foreign economic and other interests in colonial Territories.

When he had completed his introduction, the Committee returned to the matter of the request for a hearing on the Western Sahara.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) asked if the Committee could consider the matter this afternoon because consultations were still going on.

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Mr. SEIFU (Ethiopia) proposed that the Committee take a decision now as he had not been approached for any consultations.

Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria), asked by the Chairman if there had been any negotiations, said there had not. The question was a substantive one.

ABDUL MAHOOD SAMEL (Afghanistan) was "astonished" at the request to delay the decision on the request for a hearing by the representatives of the POLISARIO. It was not the first time the Committee had taken a decision to hear the representatives of POLISARIO. He said a decision to hear the POLISARIO representatives should be taken, and that those representatives should be heard.

JACQUES SOLO RASON (Madagascar) said that the Committee had decided to take a decision at the end of the meeting and should do so. He saw no reason to defer a decision of principle, and supported the Chairman's proposal to accept the request for a hearing from the POLISARIO.

The CHAIRMAN said he had consulted the Secretariat to obtain information about procedures. According to that information, the principle of hearing petitioners had been accepted as a custom in the Fourth Committee. The issue was not a substantive issue, but it was a matter of principle. He appealed to the representative of Morocco to allow the Committee to take a decision. Otherwise, the Chairman would have to ask the Committee to take a formal decision on this, something that had never been done before.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said that consultations had been agreed to and a way had been found. That was that a decision should be made at the end of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN said that as the Committee had reached the end of its work this morning, it was obliged to take a decision.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said he had hoped the meeting would be longer so that he could carry out consultations with the head of his delegation and return to the Committee to present the position of Morocco. He was now obliged to make a few comments. Morocco had always claimed "this part of its national territory" and had brought the issue to the United Nations. Morocco had not experienced colonization as the majority of the third world countries unfortunately had. Morocco, he said, was divided into several parts and that was why...

Mr. SEMICHI (Algeria), speaking on a point of order, said Morocco was now speaking on a substantive issue when a decision of principle was to be made.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said it was a fundamental issue for Morocco and he did not want to make a long statement, but Morocco was entitled to express its view on the document. He said he had to recall certain factors first because some representatives were at the Committee for the first time and they would wish to hear why Morocco had reservations on this matter.

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He challenged anyone, even the representative of Algeria, to give information about relations between POLISARIO and the Spanish colonial Power.

In 1975, an agreement with the administering Power had given the territory back to those entitled to it. In 1976, the administering Power had abandoned its responsibilities in the territory and the people had decided to "come back to their motherland in an irreversible manner".

He strongly opposed a hearing by people who had emerged as a Front about one year after the decolonization of the territory.

At this point the representative of Algeria indicated that he wished to speak, but the Chairman requested that he allow the representative of Morocco to complete his statement.

Mr. HADDAOUI (Morocco) said the representative of Algeria was "trying to disrupt the procedure of the Fourth Committee". The territory had been decolonized pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 1514 and 1541 of the United Nations which included a paragraph about the territorial integrity of States. He was opposed to the request for a hearing, he concluded.

The CHAIRMAN assured the delegate of Morocco that his words would be reflected in the summary records.

The Committee then decided to grant the request for hearing to the Frente POLISARIO.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

935/28/2

O.CA9877 NASH
TOR 2236 02.09.79

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TO.
RR CANBERRA/7743

RP.
RR TEL AVIV/559 DAMASCUS/248 BAGHDAD/119
RR JEDDAH/515 PARIS EMB/328 LONDON/1531
RR WASHINGTON/533
BB AMMAN/57 BEIRUT/288

FM. CAIRO / FILE 222/1

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA : AUTONOMY TALKS

IN A SPEECH ON 1 SEPTEMBER, PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT EGYPT WOULD SUPPORT MOROCCO IN THE DISPUTE OVER WESTERN SAHARA. THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAD ALREADY RECEIVED A REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM KING HASSAN AND THAT HE WOULD MEET THIS REQUEST. PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE IF NEEDED.

2. IN THE SAME SPEECH PRESIDENT SADAT EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE AUTONOMY TALKS. HE SAID THAT BY THE END OF THE YEAR 'WE SHALL PUT THE FINAL TOUCHES TO A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT'. HE CALLED ON THE OTHER ARABS 'TO HAVE THE COURAGE TO SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL AS HE HAD DONE'. REFERRING TO HIS FORTHCOMING TALKS WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT HE WOULD INSIST 'ON FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM DURING THE HAIFA TALKS'. HE ALSO SAID THAT 'THE MOMENT THE PLO PROCLAIMS THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE EGYPT WILL NOT HESITATE IN RECOGNISING IT'.

3. THE PRESIDENT'S OPTIMISM ON THE OUTCOME OF THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS IS MIRRORED IN AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY ANIS MANSUR, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF OCTOBER MAGAZINE. MR MANSUR IS VERY CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT AND HIS WRITING IS KNOWN TO REFLECT THE PRESIDENT'S THINKING. IN AN ARTICLE HEADED 'GAP NARROWS ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE'. MANSUR WROTE THAT THE 'THE SHARP DIFFERENCES THAT HAD FORMERLY BLOCKED THE ROAD TO PEACE HAVE GREATLY NARROWED'. 'BEGIN'S VIEWS ON THE WEST BANK HAVE BEEN MODERATED'. ACCORDING TO MANSUR 'BEGIN NOW ADMITS THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE COULD BE ESTABLISHED IN THE WEST BANK. THE ONLY THING BEGIN SEEMS NOW TO BE WORRIED ABOUT IS SECURITY FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE. IN OTHER WORDS BEGIN IS READY TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH PALESTINIANS SO LONG AS ISRAELI SECURITY IS ENSURED'.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.CA9877

COMMENT

THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE PRESIDENTS DECISION TO SUPPORT MOROCCO IN THE CONFLICT OVER WESTERN SAHARA APPEARS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO WOO KING HASSAN AWAY FROM THE REJECTIONIST ARABS AND OPPOSITION TO THE PEACE TREATY. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THE DECISION RUNS COUNTER TO THE SPIRIT OF, AND INDEED THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE OAU SUMMIT MEETING IN MONROVIA (WHERE MOROCCO'S ISOLATION WAS ALMOST COMPLETE). IT ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL ALSO RUN COUNTER TO THE OUTCOME OF THE NAM SUMMIT IN HAVANA (PARA 78 OF CUBAN DRAFT DECLARATION 'REITERATED ITS SUPPORT OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION').

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

JBAE
JBAM

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP
DC	FAS(NUC)	NS	NP	FAS(IOC)	IO
FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(ECO)		FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)
FAREP-M	FAREP-P	FAREP-S			

ACCRA ALGIERS BONN BRUSSELS GENEVA LAGOS MADRID MOSCOW
TEHRAN TRIPOLI UN NEW YORK

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

935/28/2

O.PA68135 JAMC
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RR CANBERRA/7197

RP.
RR ALGIERS/500 WASHINGTON/1440 UN NEW YORK/782
RR MADRID/238

FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA: FRENCH COMMENT

THE FRENCH CABINET ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT AFTER ITS
29 AUGUST MEETING (OUR TRANSLATION):

''HAVING STUDIED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH-WEST AFRICA,
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS NOTED THAT MAURITANIA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM
WESTERN SAHARA CREATES A NEW SITUATION. TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE
STATEMENTS OF MAURITANIAN LEADERS AND NOTING THE ABSENCE OF
ANY DISPUTE OVER THE INTERNATIONALLY-RECOGNIZED FRONTIERS OF THE
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS
THAT MAURITANIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY MUST BE RECOGNIZED
AND RESPECTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. FRANCE FOR ITS
PART WISHES TO STRESS ITS FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY WITH MAURITANIA.
FRANCE IS PREPARED TO STUDY, WITH THE MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT, THE
PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE IN THE NECESSARY WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAURITANIAN ECONOMY''.

COMMENT (UNDERLINED)

2. THE MAIN ELEMENT IN THIS CAREFULLY-WORDED STATEMENT IS ITS
UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT FOR MAURITANIA: IN THIS, WHILE NOT EXPLICITLY
ENDORING THE MAURITANIA-POLISSARIO AGREEMENT, FRANCE SEEMS TO HAVE
DISTANCED ITSELF A LITTLE FROM MOROCCO (AND TO BE DEBUNKING
KING HASSAN'S NOTION THAT POLISSARIO AND ITS SUPPORTER SHOULD MOVE
INTO MAURITANIA).

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INWARD BB MESSAGE RESTRICTED

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BB CANBERRA/189 CAIRO/81 PARIS EMB/166
BB UN NEW YORK/88

FM. ALGIERS // FILE 801/2

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ALGIERS - MONTHLY SAVINGRAM FOR AUGUST 1979

Developments in the Western Sahara conflict came quickly in August. Following the Monrovia OAU Summit in July, Mauritania had announced that it would launch a "diplomatic offensive" to find a solution to the conflict. In pursuit of this, talks between Mauritania and the Polisario Front opened in Algiers on 3 August, resulting in the signing of a peace agreement on 5 August, by which Mauritania renounced all claims to the part of the Western Sahara it had formerly administered. However, the exact modalities for the transfer of authority, if they were agreed upon, were kept secret. The agreement drew favourable reactions from a wide variety of African countries, not merely from those that had hitherto supported the Polisario cause. A further direct result of the agreement was the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Mauritania and Algeria on 14 August.

2. Morocco's reaction to the agreement was predictable with King Hassan claiming a right to pre-empt any rights to the territory that might be abandoned by Mauritania. However, the sabre-rattling took on a more solid note on 11 August when Morocco moved to annex Tiris El Gharbia - the former Mauritanian portion of the Western Sahara - and subsequently to incorporate it into Morocco as the province of Oued Eddahab (Rio de Oro). Moroccan troops stationed there took over the principal town of the province, Dakhla (formerly Villa Cisneros). Morocco's action drew strong worded condemnation from a number of nations, not least of which was Algeria. President Chadli and Foreign Minister Benyahia wrote to the OAU, UN and Arab League calling for those bodies to condemn Morocco and to take (unspecified) action. In addition, the Algerian Politburo indulged in its own sabre-rattling when it issued a communique on 15 August stating inter alia, that when force took precedence over legality, the privilege of using force did not lie with Morocco alone. Colonel Yahiaoui, Party Coordinator and leading radical, visited four "progressive" Arab countries (Iraq, Libya, Syria, South Yemen) on a hurried trip which may have been connected with a call for an Arab League role in the Sahara dispute by its new Tunisian Secretary-General, Chedli Klibi.

3. The Polisario Front, was evidently anxious to follow its diplomatic victory with military ones. The Moroccan garrison at Lebouirate was attacked twice (10 and 24 August); that of the oasis of Bir Enzaran on 11 August; and the southern Moroccan town of Touizgui on 23 August. Although Morocco has denied the extremely high figures for kills, captures or loss of materiel claimed by Polisario, the attacks themselves have not been denied, and, in the case of the second attack on Lebouirate, an official enquiry has been set up to investigate the reasons why the garrison had been taken so completely by surprise. It is clear that the scale of Polisario's military activity has been lifted, and that the Moroccans have started to use its results in their own domestic propaganda.

INWARD BB MESSAGE

4. In related developments, an American delegation, led by Rep. Solarz, visited Algeria 15 - 17 August. It was announced that the delegation had talks with Polisario leaders and visited the latter's encampments in the west of Algeria on 16 August. Mali's President Traore - given an important mediatory role in the conflict by the OAU - spent a large portion of the month in Algeria (6 - 8, 9 - 21 August) with a brief round of talks with France's President Giscard on 8 August. Few details of his stay in Algeria are known. On 20 August, Grenada became the 24th country to recognise the so-called Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. This was followed, on 23 August, by recognition by Ghana.

5. Apart from these developments, August was very quiet, mainly due to the fast of Ramadan, coinciding with the summer holiday period. The Malagasy and Nigerian Foreign Ministers visited Algiers (the latter for four days, before going on to Havana), and an apparently warm round of talks was held between Algerian officials and French Communist Party Secretary-General Marchais when the latter paid a four day visit (27 - 30 August) at the invitation of the National Liberation Front. The President left for Tripoli on 30 August to attend the tenth anniversary of the Libyan Revolution, and National Assembly President Rabah Bitat visited East Germany.

TUNISIA

6. Following the minor liberalization of the electoral law on 31 July (by which the number of candidates who could stand for seats was doubled - though still in effect restricted to the official Neo-Destourian Socialist party), President Bourguiba freed nine imprisoned trade union leaders on the occasion of his 76th birthday on 3 August. The nine, jailed for long periods after a questionable trial in 1978, included Habib Achour, former Secretary-General of the General Union of Tunisian Workers (U.G.T.T.) and a Vice-President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. A number of other, imprisoned at the same time as Achour, however, have not yet been released.

7. A further trial took place on 11 August of some fifty others accused of bringing out illegally six issues of the proscribed newspaper of the U.G.T.T. "Ech Chaab" (The People). Many of the accused were absent, either being in flight, or curiously, in the case of a number who had earlier been released on provisional liberty pending trial, being prevented by police from entering the court room. The accused actually present refused to plead but complained of ill treatment. The trial is to continue.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD BB MESSAGE

2-0.AL3271

ACTION: AME

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	FAS(SEP)	SEA
PSP	FAS(NSA)	NA	SA	FAS(WES)	ANZ
EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	DC	FAS(NUC)	NS
NP	FAS(IOC)	IO	CIP	FAS(PCR)	INF
CR	FAS(ECO)	EO	EP	FAS(LT)	GLT
IL	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M		FAREP-P	FAREP-S
DIR-ADAB	FAS(BP)	PPR		PAAP	SEAP
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ACCRA ANKARA BELGRADE BONN BRUSSELS DAR ES SALAAM JEDDAH
LAGOS LONDON MADRID MALTA MOSCOW NAIROBI NEW DELHI NICOSIA
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DATE. 24 August 1979

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SUBJECT. COMMITTEE OF 24 : THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

In line with what has become established procedure, the Committee decided on 16 August

"to give consideration to the question of Western Sahara at its next Session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give in that connection at its Thirty-fourth Session and, in order to facilitate consideration of the item by the Fourth Committee, to authorise its Rapporteur to transmit to the General Assembly all information relating to the Territory, including the latest developments, namely the signing of a peace treaty and the resolution adopted at the 16th ordinary session of Heads of State and Government of the OAU meeting in Monrovia, Liberia".

2. The Committee's discussion of the item was relatively brief. The Polisario Front gave a presentation (from their perspective) of the more significant historical developments of the dispute, culminating in an outline of the peace treaty recently agreed to by the Polisario Front and Mauritania. The full terms of this agreement were read into the record of the meeting and are contained in Document A/AC.109/PV.1161.

3. The Polisario Front's intervention was followed by a moving statement from the Mauritanian representative, the burden of which was that, in the present critical period, it was essential that Africa be united to "struggle against underdevelopment; against the aggression of South Africa; the aggression of the colonialists and the neo-colonialists; the aggression of the zionists". Further statements

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welcoming the Mauritania/Polisario Front agreement were made by Tanzania, Cuba, Syria and Iran.

Comment

4. The agreement between Mauritania and the Polisario Front is, of course, a major development in the dispute and will have impact on UNGA 34's consideration of the question. At UNGA 33, two competing resolutions were adopted (we supported both), although the pro-Polisario resolution commanded the greatest number of votes. Mauritania's shift in position, we think, could be sufficient to swing the balance and we see a fair chance that only one (pro-Polisario) resolution will be adopted this year.

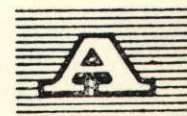


(R.S. Morris)
First Secretary

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A/AC.109/L.1131 - Secretariat Working Paper on Western Sahara.

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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

WESTERN SAHARA

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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WESTERN SAHARA

1. GENERAL

1. Western Sahara is situated on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa opposite the Canary Islands, bounded on the north and north-east by Morocco and Algeria and on the south and east by Mauritania. It has a total area of about 266,000 square kilometres and its seaboard measures 1,062 kilometres. Its land frontiers extend for a total length of 2,045 kilometres, the frontier with Mauritania being 1,570 kilometres long and that with Morocco and Algeria 475 kilometres. The Territory consists of two regions, Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, which form an integral part of the great Saharan Desert.
2. The climate of Western Sahara is very dry with enormous differences between nocturnal and diurnal temperatures. There is very little cultivation, except in some low-lying areas in the south which are watered by occasional rainfall.
3. The physical characteristics of this desert region have determined the traditional way of life of the indigenous inhabitants who are for the most part nomadic and pastoral, moving continuously over extensive areas which transcend international frontiers. Since 1968, however, following the drought which affected the whole Saharan region, a substantial part of the population has settled in and around the urban and trading centres.
4. The principal tribes in the Territory are the Erguibat, Ait Lahsen and Ulad Delim who are to be found also in Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

2. BACKGROUND

5. It will be recalled that on 14 November 1975, the Governments of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania agreed upon a Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Agreement, a/ with respect to the Territory of Western Sahara. In accordance with the Declaration, Spain transferred its powers to a temporary administration, comprising the Spanish Governor-General at that time and two deputy governors, one nominated by Morocco and the other by Mauritania. In accordance with the terms of that agreement, Spain terminated its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976.
6. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement whereby the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco was defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west. With the frontier thus defined, the northern part of Western Sahara was integrated into Moroccan territory and the southern part into Mauritanian territory. The

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

Algerian Government, which had opposed the Madrid Declaration, accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory and of handing over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania.

7. The Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) declared that the Saharan people considered "the agreement concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as null and void and as an act of aggression and banditry" and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

8. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed on 27 February 1976, has reportedly been recognized by 20 countries: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam.

3. CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

9. During the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, the Assembly adopted a resolution b/ in which it decided to set up an ad hoc committee of at least five heads of State, members of OAU, under the chairmanship of the President of the Sudan, who was the Chairman of the OAU session at that time. The task of the committee, as defined in the resolution, was to study "all the data" in the Western Sahara dispute, including the exercise of the people's right to self-determination, in preparation for an extraordinary summit meeting to discuss the issue.

10. In October, reports indicated that Morocco and Mauritania had accepted the mediation of the Ad hoc Committee in an effort to solve the problem of Western Sahara.

11. In a letter dated 7 November 1978, addressed to the Secretary-General (A/33/364), the Permanent Representative of Sudan to the United Nations transmitted a message from the Chairman of the Ad hoc Committee in which he stated that the committee would initiate its work on 30 November 1978 at Khartoum. The membership of the committee would comprise Mr. Gaafar Nimeiri, President of the Sudan (Chairman); Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania; c/ Mr. Moussa Traoré, President of Mali; Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria; Mr. Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast; and Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of Guinea.

b/ A/33/235, annex II, AHG/Res.92 (XV).

c/ The United Republic of Tanzania subsequently withdrew from the Ad hoc Committee following its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in November 1978.

12. In the same message, the Chairman of the committee expressed the hope that all States Members of the United Nations would refrain from taking any action likely to hamper the work of the committee or to delay arrival at a fair and peaceful solution to the problem (A/33/364).

13. On 10 November, the Frente POLISARIO strongly protested this request, stating that the responsibilities of the United Nations in matters of decolonization were independent from those of OAU. The Frente POLISARIO also claimed that the composition of the Ad hoc Committee would be unbalanced as long as Angola or Mozambique was not included.

14. In a letter dated 27 November, addressed to the President of the Sudan, (A/33/397, annex), Mr. Houari Boumediene, then President of Algeria, stated, inter alia, that consideration of the question of Western Sahara by the United Nations was strictly in conformity with the resolution of the Khartoum Summit (see para. 9 above) which expressly stated in paragraph 7 that the United Nations remained seized of the decolonization problem of Western Sahara. President Boumediene deplored the fact that the OAU secretariat had expressed the hope that the United Nations would avoid considering the question of Western Sahara; this, he stated, was contrary not only to the provisions of OAU and United Nations resolutions but also to the new spirit Algeria was fostering in order to ensure progress through dialogue and to the efforts of all aimed at a political solution of the crisis.

15. On 2 December, in a communiqué issued by the Ad hoc Committee following its two-day meeting at Khartoum, it was announced that a sub-committee comprising the Presidents of Nigeria and Mali had been formed with a mandate to visit the region, accompanied by the Secretary-General of OAU, and to contact all the parties concerned including "the Saharan people" in order to undertake necessary measures for restoring peace and security. The communiqué appealed to all parties to adhere to an immediate cease-fire to enable the sub-committee to accomplish its duties.

16. On 30 April 1979, the sub-committee visited Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco and met with representatives of the Frente POLISARIO at Algiers. A full meeting of the Ad hoc Committee was held on 23 June 1979. On 26 June, the Committee issued a communiqué stating that it had adopted certain recommendations of the sub-committee concerning the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara and the modalities of its exercise. The recommendations would be submitted to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its sixteenth ordinary session, to be held at Monrovia from 17 to 19 July. The Ad hoc Committee reiterated its appeal to all parties concerned immediately to observe a cease-fire until OAU had had an opportunity to consider the recommendations of the committee.

4. CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

17. By its resolution 33/31 A of 13 December 1978, adopted by 90 votes to 10 with

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39 abstentions, the General Assembly, inter alia reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara; requested the Special Committee to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review; requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the relevant decisions of OAU; and invited the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. In the same resolution, the Assembly welcomed the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 June 1978 by the Frente POLISARIO with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara.

18. By resolution 33/31 B, adopted on the same date by 66 votes to 30 with 40 abstentions, the General Assembly, inter alia, taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU to establish an ad hoc committee of Heads of State (see para. 9 above), expressed its confidence that the committee would consider all data on the question with a view to convening an extraordinary summit meeting of OAU; invited OAU to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question; appealed to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of OAU to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem; requested the Administrative-Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the Ad hoc Committee; and invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon to the General Assembly.

19. The positions of Algeria, Spain and Morocco and the representative of the Frente POLISARIO were reflected in their statements in the Fourth Committee. d/ Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria also made statements during the general debate in the plenary meetings. e/

5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

20. On 10 July 1978, a change of government took place in Mauritania and President Moktar Ould Daddah was replaced by a Military Committee for National Redress, headed by Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek. Two days later, it was reported that the Frente POLISARIO had unilaterally declared a cease-fire as a good-will gesture towards the new Mauritanian Government, which had pledged itself to work

d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session Fourth Committee, 24th meeting, paras. 32-49 (Algeria); ibid., 29th meeting, paras. 66-70, (Spain); ibid., paras. 82-91 (Morocco); ibid., 22nd meeting, paras. 78-93.

e/ Ibid., Plenary Meetings, 20th meeting (Morocco and Mauritania); ibid., 21st meeting (Algeria, Morocco); and ibid., 33rd and 34th meetings (Algeria, Morocco).

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for peace in the Sahara. Frente POLISARIO sources indicated that the purpose of the cease-fire was to allow the Mauritanian Government time to review its policies vis-à-vis that group.

21. The cease-fire led to several rounds of consultations and meetings at which various proposals for a solution to the problem were put forward without, however, achieving any result.

22. There have also been reports of direct meetings between representatives of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO. On 10 October, Cheikna Ould Mohamed Laghdaf, then Minister for Foreign Affairs for Mauritania, confirmed earlier reports that low-level talks with the Frente POLISARIO had taken place in Paris from 9 to 16 September 1978. Further contacts were reported to have taken place on 17 and 18 October at Bamako in Mali. Some sources indicated that these contacts had been for the purpose of exchanging views and attempting to create conditions favourable to a global solution.

23. On 4 December, officials of the Frente POLISARIO reportedly accused Mauritania of "unilaterally and sine die" breaking off negotiations, and of failing to take concrete measures to achieve peace. According to reports, these accusations were rejected by Mauritania. A spokesman for Mauritania stated that Mauritania would continue its policy of dialogue; he emphasized, however, that there had only been preliminary contacts with the Frente POLISARIO.

24. Statements made in early January 1979 by Mr. Mustapha Ould Salek, then Mauritanian Head of State, indicated that if a global settlement remained impossible, Mauritania would be prepared to withdraw from the conflict and, if the Frente POLISARIO agreed, would favour organizing a referendum in the area of Western Sahara under his Government's control. On 15 January, the Frente POLISARIO was said to have rejected this plan.

25. There have also been attempts to bring about a general improvement of relations in the region. In February, press reports citing an official French source said that a meeting between King Hassan II of Morocco and President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria was "probable".

26. In February also, President Benjedid appealed to Mauritania to give new impetus to its peace talks with the Frente POLISARIO, which he said appeared to be stagnating. He reiterated that, within its means, Algeria was available to help in the achievement of a lasting peace.

27. Early in April, the Government of Mr. Ould Salek of Mauritania was replaced by a Military Committee of National Salvation and Colonel Ahmed Ould Bouceif, the former Minister of Fisheries, became Prime Minister. In an official military communiqué issued following this change, it was announced that the Government's main aims were a peaceful solution to the Saharan conflict and the promotion of economic recovery through "controlled liberalization".

28. On 26 April, reports originating in Tripoli indicated that an accord had been

reached between Mauritania and Libya during a visit to Tripoli of Mr. Abdallah, the Mauritanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The accord reportedly included Mauritania's agreement to turn over its sector of Western Sahara to the Frente POLISARIO. A communiqué issued by Mauritania suggested, however, that it was maintaining its position that there should be a "dialogue with POLISARIO and all parties concerned in the Western Sahara conflict". Subsequently, in an interview with Agence France Presse on 30 April, Colonel Bouceif stated that there had never been any question of ceding the Mauritanian sector of Western Sahara to the Frente POLISARIO. He confirmed reports, however, that there had been renewed contacts between the Frente POLISARIO and his Government at Tripoli and Paris. In the meantime, the Frente POLISARIO announced that in the future it would negotiate with Mauritania only within "the framework of the Tripoli agreement".

29. When Mauritania did not send a delegation to Tripoli on 26 May for the purported purpose of signing a "peace agreement", a spokesman for the Frente POLISARIO is said to have accused Mauritania of not honouring its commitments. He subsequently stated that the Frente POLISARIO was not closing the door to negotiation. It was now studying with interest a proposal whereby the Governments of Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and representatives of the Frente POLISARIO would meet with Spain (the administering Power) to work out a plan for independence which would preserve the territorial integrity of Western Sahara.

30. In a letter dated 23 May 1979, addressed to the Secretary-General (A/34/276), the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Mauritania to the United Nations stated the position of his Government with respect to the question of Western Sahara, indicating, inter alia, that Mauritania was prepared to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX); that it was prepared to study ways and means of achieving self-determination in the Sahara; that it remained in favour of the dialogue with the Frente POLISARIO with a view to achieving the practical implementation of the principle of self-determination; and that Mauritania was prepared to normalize its relations with Algeria.

31. Lieutenant Colonel Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidala, the new Prime Minister of Mauritania, reconfirmed this position in a speech on 5 June. Lieutenant Colonel Haidala was appointed to succeed Mr. Bouceif who had been killed in a plane crash on 27 May.

32. Since July 1978, the Moroccan Government has repeatedly stated on various occasions that it would not give up any of "its recovered Saharan provinces", nor would it agree to a mini-State under the Frente POLISARIO in Mauritania's sector of Western Sahara. In a speech in August 1978, King Hassan II stated that "any peace solution must not involve a threat to our territorial integrity; it must not lead to the insertion of a foreign State between Morocco and Mauritania".

33. On 4 January 1979, the King appointed Mr. Jalienna Uld Rachid, member of Parliament for El Aaiun and former President of the Unión Nacional Saharani (PUNS), as Secretary of State for Saharan Affairs, directly under the authority of the Prime Minister. King Hassan also named three new governors for the provinces of the Sahara.

34. On 28 January, the forces of the Frente POLISARIO attacked Tan-Tan. Subsequently, on 8 March, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, King Hassan announced that since the situation in southern Morocco was "daily going from bad to worse", he had decided to set up a National Security Council consisting of representatives of all the organized political parties and to entrust it with the task of defining and implementing a policy aimed at safeguarding Morocco's national territory and State security. In response to the King's speech, the Chamber of Deputies unanimously recommended that the Moroccan army exercise "the right of hot pursuit" and take retaliatory measures every time that Moroccan soil was the object of "external military aggression". Following the King's speech, Mr. Boucetta, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that, in future, Morocco would consider "our Saharan affairs as a strictly internal matter".

35. As a result of the attack on Tan-Tan, Colonel Mohamed Abrog was appointed to deal with Western Saharan defence. Morocco has since adopted new measures to deal with the forces of the Frente POLISARIO, including the use of mobile units. It has also abandoned its policy of silence about the war and has begun to issue communiqués regarding armed clashes.

36. On 16 May, King Hassan is said to have reaffirmed that Morocco would never reverse its position on Western Sahara. He added, however, that his country would not prevent Mauritania from concluding a peace agreement on condition that the border between Morocco and Mauritania remained open. King Hassan also said that he was ready to meet with the Algerian President but that the Algerians had not responded to the initiative.

37. As regards Spain's position on Western Sahara, during his visit to Algeria in May 1979, Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez González was reported to have said that a just solution of the question of Western Sahara inevitably involved the self-determination of the Saharan people. A joint communiqué issued by Algeria and Spain at the end of the visit called for a "quick decolonization of Western Sahara". Previously, Spain's governing party, the Unión Centro Democrático (UCD) had decided to recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the only legitimate representative of the Saharan people. The decision was announced on 15 October 1978 in a joint communiqué following the participation of a delegation of UCD in the Fourth POLISARIO Congress.

A. Recent developments

Agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO

38. On 5 August 1979, news agencies reported that the Government of Mauritania had signed a peace agreement in Algiers with representatives of the Frente POLISARIO, under which Mauritania renounced all claims to the sector of Western Sahara under its control. In this accord, which was reported to have taken place after three days of negotiations and within a week of the renunciation of its claims to Western Sahara, Mauritania is said to have withdrawn definitely from what Mauritania called "the unjust war in the Western Sahara". Mauritania was also said to have referred to the Frente POLISARIO as "the representatives of the Saharan people". Further, the accord is reported to provide for "periodic meetings between the

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Frente POLISARIO and the Mauritanian Government to monitor its terms". According to news reports, the accord was signed by Mr. Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, the Second Vice-President of the Military Committee of National Salvation of Mauritania and Mr. Bachir Moustafa Sayed, Deputy Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO.

39. On 7 August, in a communiqué issued at Nouakchott, the Permanent Committee of the Military Committee of National Salvation of Mauritania endorsed the Algiers accord and declared its "gratification at the happy end of the efforts exerted by Mauritania for more than a year aiming at finding a just and definitive solution of the Western Sahara conflict".

40. The Permanent Committee described the accord as conforming "in every aspect to the aspirations and interests of the Mauritanian people", adding that it should lead to "the consolidation and reinforcement of the peace which is indispensable for the peoples and states of the Maghreb".

41. Morocco, on its part, is reported to have declared the agreement null and void and has vowed to continue to hold on to its zone (see paras. 32 and 36 above). Prior to the signing of the Algiers accord on 5 August, King Hassan was quoted as declaring that Mauritania had "no right to withdraw" from the Sahara, implying further action by Morocco if a Mauritanian withdrawal were to take place.

Decision of OAU

42. At its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU adopted a decision on Western Sahara (AHG/DEC.114 (XVI)) by which it decided the following:

"1. The preparation of a proper atmosphere for peace in the area through a general and immediate cease-fire;

"2. The exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a general and free referendum which will enable them to choose one of the following options:

- (a) Total independence;
- (b) Maintenance of the status quo;

"3. The convening of a meeting of the parties concerned including the representative of Western Sahara to request their co-operation for the implementation of this decision;

"4. The establishment of a Special Committee of Five OAU member States composed of Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan and the United Republic of Tanzania to work out the modalities and to supervise the organization of a referendum with the co-operation of the United Nations on the basis of one person one vote. The Special Committee shall be chaired by Liberia, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity."

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6. MILITARY SITUATION

43. Press reports indicate that armed clashes have continued through the period under review.

44. In January 1979, the Frente POLISARIO claimed that it had intensified its attacks on Moroccan positions within the framework of the "Houari Boumediene" offensive. In its various communiqués it reported attacks on Moroccan positions at Amgala, Asatef, Bir-Enzaran, Bu Craa, Cabo Bojador, El Aaiún, El Farsia, El Garada, Guelta Zemmur, Hagunia, Hausa, J'Deiria, Lebtaina Talha, Lemseyed, Oum Dreiga, Semara, Terf Lemalga, Tifariti and Tiguiy in Western Sahara, and Assa, Abattih, Lebouirate, Ould Draa, Sken, Tan-Tan, Tarfaya and Zag in southern Morocco. Moroccan sources denied the capture of Tan-Tan, saying that the Frente POLISARIO had only inflicted "light damage" on the television/radio transmitter located there.

45. On 12 March, the Moroccan Minister of State for Information announced that his country's forces had taken the offensive and attacked the position of the Frente POLISARIO at Tiguiy and Ramth Al Lbane in Western Sahara, destroying their positions and inflicting heavy casualties.

46. Subsequently, on 6 May, the forces of the Frente POLISARIO claimed the capture and liberation on 29 April of the town of Amgala in the sector of Western Sahara occupied by Morocco. This claim was categorically denied by Moroccan sources.

47. In early June, following an attack by the forces of the Frente POLISARIO on the villages of Tarfaya and Assa in Morocco, King Hassan is said to have authorized Moroccan armed forces to pursue the attackers to their home bases, even if it entailed crossing the borders of neighbouring countries.

48. On 9 June, in a message addressed to the Chairman of OAU (A/34/308, annex), the President of Algeria called attention to the grave dangers threatening the Maghreb region as a result of Morocco's claim to the right of hot pursuit. The President reaffirmed that no intimidation could shake his country's convictions and stated its firm determination to oppose any infringement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Algeria. The Moroccan authorities, he continued, would be held responsible for the inevitable consequences of violation of Algeria's frontiers. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria reiterated this position in a message dated 13 June 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General (A/34/312, annex).

49. In a letter dated 13 June 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13394) the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations stated that during the night of 31 May/1 June 1979, a column of Moroccan Royal Armed Forces had been attacked between Tan-Tan and Tarfaya, within Moroccan territory. A further attack had occurred on 4 June at the town of Assa, also situated within Morocco. These attacks had been carried out and directed by forces whose point of departure was situated in Algerian territory. Morocco, he

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said, would continue to exercise its inherent right of self-defence. The request of the representative of Morocco, on behalf of his Government, that a meeting of the Council be convened to consider this matter was reiterated in a subsequent letter to the President of the Security Council (S/13397) following an attack on the Moroccan town of Tan-Tan.

50. In a letter dated 16 June 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13399), the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria expressed his country's indignation at the attempt by Morocco to shift on to Algeria responsibility for the annexation policy of Morocco and accused that country of preparing an act of aggression against Algeria under cover of its alleged right of self-defence. He stated that any action which the Security Council might decide to take could only be within the framework laid down by the United Nations for expediting the solution of the question of Western Sahara.

51. The Security Council considered the question of Western Sahara at its 2151st to 2153rd meetings between 20 and 22 June. Statements were made by Morocco, the Frente POLISARIO, Benin, Democratic Yemen, Mauritania and Madagascar and Algeria. f/

52. Subsequently, in a letter dated 25 June, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13410), the Permanent Representative of Morocco requested the Security Council to suspend action on the complaint submitted to it in his Government's letters of 13 and 15 June (S/13394 and S/13397).

53. At its 2154th meeting, on 25 June 1979, the Security Council adjourned its consideration of the question.

7. ECONOMIC SITUATION

A. Phosphate industry g/

54. Early in 1979, it was reported that the Bu Craa mine operated by FOSBUCRAA had resumed production under heavy guard. The mine, closed since 1976, had originally been scheduled to resume operations in November 1978.

55. Mr. Larbi El-Omari, the director of FOSBUCRAA, said that four miles of conveyor belt destroyed by the Frente POLISARIO would have to be replaced. In addition, 2 of the 10 control stations along the belt had suffered severe damage to their sophisticated electrical machinery and 17 power pylons had been destroyed.

f/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2151st meeting (Morocco); 2152nd meeting (Frente POLISARIO, Benin, Democratic Yemen, Mauritania and Madagascar); and 2152nd meeting (Algeria).

g/ For further details, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, paras. 177-184.

56. In 1975, the last year of normal production by Bu Craa, the output of raw phosphate was an estimated 3.7 million metric tons. In the first few weeks of 1976, 894,080 metric tons were produced before damage to the electrical system brought mining to a halt.

57. The treatment plant at the port of El-Aaiún had remained in operation since 1976, although on a reduced schedule. It produced 182,880 metric tons of dry phosphate in 1976 and 203,200 metric tons in 1979 (2.8 million metric tons in 1975). As a consequence, exports which totalled 2.6 million metric tons of dry phosphate in 1975, fell to 281,432 metric tons in 1976 and 25,400 metric tons in 1977. There is no information concerning the source of the phosphates processed by the treatment plant since 1976.

58. Since the re-opening of the mine, bulldozers have been attempting to remove the phosphate stockpile which now exceeds 500,000 metric tons. Daily convoys of 30 trucks, escorted by heavily armed squadrons of armoured cars and helicopters, remove 1,016 metric tons a day, the same amount previously moved by the conveyor belt in 25 minutes. Mr. El-Omari has estimated that once the power line and conveyor belt are back in operation, the mine could export refined phosphate at an annual rate of 3 to 4 million metric tons, approximately 10 per cent of total world trade in this mineral.

B. Fishing

59. Figures supplied to the press by the Moroccan National Fisheries Office show that the potential annual sardine catch along the coast from Ifni to El Aaiún is 406,400 metric tons. The Office estimated that an additional 100,000 metric tons could be caught annually along the coast south of El Aaiún to Cabo Bojador.

C. Other

60. In the area of oil exploration, the Phillips Petroleum Company and the British Petroleum Company, Ltd. have been granted several off-shore permits covering 35,000 square kilometres off the coast of Western Sahara between El Aaiún and Cabo Bojador.

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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 1161ST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 16 August 1979, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania)

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QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA (A/AC.109/L.1331)

The CHAIRMAN: The last item on the agenda of this meeting is the question of Western Sahara. In this connexion I have circulated to members in an aide-mémoire a communication from the Frente POLISARIO containing a request for a hearing. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Committee decides to grant a hearing to the Frente POLISARIO.

It was so decided.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Madjid Abdallah (Frente POLISARIO) took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: I invite Mr. Abdallah to make a statement.

Mr. ABDALLAH (Frente POLISARIO) (interpretation from French): A year ago the representative of the Frente POLISARIO expressed to you, Mr. Chairman, his congratulations on the success achieved by this Committee in the field of decolonization, which is in fact the freeing of people from the scourge of colonialism. We have no less reason today to repeat to you the same expressions of confidence and to offer you encouragement for the success of this session, which is all the more important since it is taking place at a particularly delicate and crucial time in the evolution of this question. Our confidence in this Committee, which continues to pursue its noble mission, is equal only to the hopes which are placed in it by the African peoples who are still struggling for their freedom.

The efforts and activities of the various organs of the United Nations in this field are a further encouragement for our continent, which has already paid such a high price for its liberation and which continues to face the last bastions of colonialism in its most barbarous and pernicious form. Africa is the continent which has suffered more than any other from the arbitrary actions of colonialism. Peaceful nations and peoples have been violently divided and occupied and their wealth looted by foreign Powers, to feed their ambitions.

The dynamism which today animates the Committee on decolonization is due in particular, Mr. Chairman, to your personal commitment on behalf of the struggle of peoples, as well as to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat. We have always been inspired by the role which your great country, Tanzania, has continually played in the defence of just causes and to further the triumph of Africa.

The question of Western Sahara continues to be one of the liberation of a people that is struggling for its independence, and therefore it is truly a problem of decolonization. It is in this regard that this Committee became seized of this question and in May 1975 sent a fact-finding mission to the Territory in order to obtain information on the critical situation which was caused by the conflict between colonization and the deep aspirations of the Sahraoui people. Upon its return, the mission revealed facts which were not completely unexpected, following its direct contacts with the Sahraoui people. The irrefutable realities became fully known to the international community.

(Mr. Abdallah)

First, the Sahraoui people does not accept the continuance of colonialism in any form and categorically rejects any attempt at carrying it on by neighbouring countries with annexationist ambitions. Also, the Sahraoui people has been engaged in a decisive struggle against Spanish fascism and proclaims its total commitment to the objectives outlined by the Frente POLISARIO. The Frente POLISARIO waged an armed struggle against Spanish colonialist troops for many years and achieved significant success, for example, in the control of liberated areas and the holding of Spanish prisoners of war who were later freed after negotiations aimed at independence which POLISARIO conducted with the Spanish Government. These revelations were disastrous for Moroccan expansionist aims and were very important for enlightening world public opinion which had had various forms of lies and misinformation drummed into it by the press.

Then the International Court of Justice, which was asked to examine the matter by the expansionist régime of Morocco with the hope of inducing it to make an erroneous judgement, rejected one by one the false claims of King Hassan II. The Court established abundant proof of the fact that Western Sahara had always been independent in its relationship with its neighbours and that the latter really could not claim to exercise any type of sovereignty over the territory of Western Sahara, that the Sahraoui people alone could exercise such rights and were the only legitimate beneficiary of self-determination and independence. The United Nations must close the path to all political and military interference which would falsify the elements of this question or impede the process which was freely begun by the international community.

That failure was dismal and, in fact, even unbearable for the insecure King, who then sank to a lower level of cynicism and irony and flagrantly defied the international community by simply invading Western Sahara, trying at the same time to legitimize the military fait accompli.

But Africa protested against that because it had already taken a unanimous decision against the pursuit of such dangerous dreams of reconstituting the former empires which can become a source of conflict and countless wars that would not spare any modern State in the African continent.

(Mr. Abdallah)

Africa is more conscious than ever that it is only strict respect for post-colonial boundaries that will spare the African continent from interminable difficulties and protect it against further claims which would "awaken sleeping dogs" and unleash unlimited expansionist activities.

A sense of responsibility and wisdom prevailed and the Africans, subjected to a campaign of craftily planned manoeuvres were not very receptive to the arguments of the expansionists.

It was at that time that the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which met at Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, took a decision, responding to the challenge of the Moroccan monarch - a historic and significant decision - to recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people and recommended that support should be given to its struggle against the disguised military invasion, which was nothing other than a foreign occupation of its territory. Later, the Heads of State of the OAU determined that the situation of aggression against our country was sufficiently grave to merit their convening a special summit meeting.

The summit of the OAU at Monrovia, which took place from 17 to 19 July last year, proved to be an unprecedented culmination of African wisdom and, at the same time, it dealt the final blow to Moroccan intransigence in its expansionist adventure. Africa has rid itself of the Moroccan colonialist régime which had infiltrated the ranks of the OAU and, at the same time, it has raised high the flag of freedom of the continent by encouraging the heroic struggle of the Sahraoui people in its fight to recover its independence. Thus, Morocco, in the eyes of the whole international community, has become an accused party, along with the racist régimes of southern Africa.

The colonialist Moroccan régime, however, continues its intransigence and defiance, and the international community must assume its responsibility and must also become aware of the grave consequences which can result from the rebellion of a State Member of the United Nations which disregards resolutions of the Organization. The presence in our Organization of a colonialist and bloodthirsty régime such as the Moroccan régime can only be a permanent source of discredit and dishonour for all of us.

(Mr. Abdallah)

(Mr. Abdallah)

The situation in Western Sahara has continued to deteriorate and the tragedy of the Sahraoui people is the result of the deliberate will of the Moroccan colonialist régime to defy and disregard United Nations resolutions and to continue its genocidal actions against our peaceful people in order to loot the phosphate wealth of our country.

But the criminal King of Morocco knows very well that he has committed fatal errors. First, he underestimated the unanimous will of our small people to wage a struggle for its independence; then he minimized its unlimited capacity to defeat all attempts at occupation and expansionism in Western Sahara.

Neither the factious ceremonies in the royal palace nor the exaggerated statements issued by certain outmoded opportunistic circles can make the mirage of a Greater Morocco a reality. The peoples of the region have shown an unparalleled solidarity in opposing such plots, and battles between the heroic fighters of our army and the colonialist Moroccan troops are still going on. The battle field is being extended day by day, and the war is taking on an unpredictable scope, with grave consequences for the entire region. King Hassan II of Morocco, blinded by his plans for regional expansion, overwhelmed by the serious and daily defeats being inflicted on him by the People's Army of the Sahara, and isolated on the diplomatic front as well, may be tempted to opt for an internationalization of the problem, since he is unfortunately being encouraged by certain governmental circles to extend the war against third countries in an attempt to justify to his own country the imminent defeat of his adventure in Western Sahara. It is for this reason, and to mislead the international community, that he imprudently had recourse to the Security Council. This manoeuvre, which was designed to foment confusion, was intended on the one hand to distort the facts and, on the other, to divert Moroccan public opinion from the socio-economic problems and waves of strikes that are endangering that country's stability.

(Mr. Abdallah)

The Moroccan colonial expedition in Western Sahara has gradually brought the aggressor nation itself financial ruin, for it committed its entire economic potential to that adventure. As the Committee knows, several development and other plans have been put off and in the attempt to achieve its ignoble goal - the control of certain areas - the Government has deployed more than 55,000 Cherifian troops, paid for and equipped with the most sophisticated weapons by third countries, and such troops are now engaged in the futile task of gaining control over the territory.

King Hassan II must be aware that the unjust war he is waging against the Sahraoui people is lost in advance, and that his faltering army is doomed to failure. Neither the factitious ceremonies in the royal palace nor the exaggerated statements issued by certain outmoded opportunistic circles can make the mirage of a Greater Morocco a reality.

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(Mr. Abdallah)

The Security Council has halted and uncovered this manoeuvre; it has not been tricked into a debate on the mythical documents for which desperate governments have attempted to win credence before the international community. The Security Council has not only returned the question to its true context, that of decolonization. It has described Morocco as the real aggressor, and by inviting the Frente POLISARIO, it has made a fitting response to the Moroccan challenge.

The Moroccan king's rash and impetuous policy should come as a surprise to no one, and Hassan II's continuing crimes against the Sahraoui people leave that people no choice. The policy of concentration camps and repression being pursued by the Moroccan colonial army is being countered by the Sahraoui people, which has closed its ranks in a determined pursuit of its heroic struggle to regain its right to self-determination and independence.

The Frente POLISARIO, the sole legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people in its legitimate self-defence against Moroccan aggression, is more mobilized than ever before; and more determined to intensify its fight and to extend its military activities throughout the enemy's territory in bringing an end to King Hassan II's evil plans for hegemonism. Obviously, the King is desperately attempting to carry out his heinous criminal plans against the peoples and countries of the region, and the successes our army has achieved over the colonial army reveal not only King Hassan's inability to occupy the Sahara, but also - and above all - that his dreams are in the realm of fantasy and illusion.

The heroic struggle of the Sahraoui people is based as never before on a free and legitimate choice, and the People's Sahraoui Army will in legitimate self-defence strike and pursue the enemy throughout its territory, forcing it to evacuate the few areas of our country it is occupying at such enormous and untenable cost, notwithstanding the foreign economic and military reinforcements it is receiving.

(Mr. Abdallah)

The colonialist Moroccan régime, caught up in its own contradictions, is now posing as the weaker party, and even as the victim of aggression. But any attempt to reverse roles or to seek to restrict the battle field is a deliberate attempt to misrepresent the military situation and is aimed at assisting - and even in gaining support for - the country that is the real, though weakened aggressor. Even more serious, it would encourage plans to escalate military activity against the peoples of the area and to flout determined African attempts to seek a political solution. The Sahraoui people for its part is prepared, as in the past, to circumvent every plot and manoeuvre designed to impede its legitimate right to independence.

In contrast to the sinister expansionist dreams of King Hassan II, the question is no longer whether he should or should not accept a neighbour on his borders, but rather - and above all - it is the defence by all available means of the Sahraoui people's existence and sovereignty throughout the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic.

The Sahraoui People's Army will defend that immutable fact with dignity, and it will win acceptance for it, because it is an outgrowth of the fixed determination of the Sahraoui people to build its national sovereignty and to safeguard its existence, as have other peoples formerly subject to colonialism and contempt.

The Committee's interest in the just cause of our people in gaining its full right to independence is of inestimable importance to the General Assembly as it endeavours to carry out its mission with regard to this authentic question of decolonization. This is also important because the Fourth Committee has always relied on your Committee's report as a basis for its decisions.

We recall that during its thirty-third session, the General Assembly took an historic decision worthy of its responsible position by giving its support to our people's struggle for independence. This decision, formally recognizing the Frente POLISARIO as the sole legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people and welcoming the peaceful actions being taken jointly by the Democratic Sahraoui Arab Republic and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, is a further milestone in our people's struggle. The General Assembly thereby thwarted attempts to escalate the Moroccan war by taking a firm stand on the side of law and justice.

(Mr. Abdallah)

You will agree with me, I am sure, that this wise decision will make a major contribution to your Committee's work and its efforts to promote the peaceful settlement of international problems. Indeed, this decision contains new facts and sheds further light on matters which the Committee cannot ignore.

There is another, no less important, event: the successful outcome of joint efforts by the Sahraoui and Mauritanian Governments. Indeed, the signature, on 5 August 1979 in Algiers, of a peace treaty between the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania marks a decisive, unprecedented development in the annals of decolonization. This event is of paramount importance, and cannot fail to be taken into account in the Committee's conclusions and final deliberations.

I should like to draw this Committee's attention to the contents of that important agreement, by which Mauritania solemnly pledges to recognize the full national rights of the Sahraoui people and recognizes the Frente POLISARIO as the legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people:

"On 3, 4 and 5 August 1979, a Mauritanian delegation led by Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, Second Vice-President of the Military Committee of National Salvation and Minister in charge of the Committee, and comprising Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation, Chief of Staff of the army; and a Sahraoui delegation led by Mr. Bachir Mustapha Sayed, Assistant Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO and member of the Executive Committee and of the Commanding Council of the Revolution, and comprising Mohamed Salem Ould Salek, Minister of Information and member of the Political Bureau of the Polisario Front and of the National Council, and Mahmoud Abdelfattah, head of the European department of the Frente POLISARIO, met in Algiers, capital of the Algerian Democratic People's Republic and, after negotiations, agreed as follows:

(Mr. Abdallah)

"(1) Considering the devotion of the two parties - Mauritanian and Sahraoui - to scrupulous respect for the inviolable principles of the charter of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Charter relating to the right of peoples to self-determination and the inviolability of borders inherited from the colonial era;

"(2) Considering the sincere desire of the two parties to establish a just and lasting peace between the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and good-neighbourliness;

"(3) Considering the overriding need for the two parties to find a comprehensive and final settlement of the conflict guaranteeing the Sahraoui people its full national rights and peace and stability in the region;

"I. (a) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania solemnly declares that it neither has nor will have any territorial or other claims over Western Sahara;

"(b) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania decides to withdraw completely from the unjust war in the Western Sahara in accordance with the terms and conditions laid down in common agreement with the representative of the Sahraoui people, the Frente POLISARIO;

"II. The Frente POLISARIO solemnly declares that it neither has nor will have any territorial or other claims over Mauritania;

"III. The Frente POLISARIO, on behalf of the Sahraoui people, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania decide hereby to sign between them a final peace;

"IV. The two parties have decided to hold periodic meetings to ensure the implementation of the terms and conditions set forth in paragraph I (b);

"(V). The two parties will transmit this agreement immediately after its signing to the Acting Chairman of the OAU, to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, to the Secretaries-General of the OAU and the United Nations, as well as to the Acting Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Nations."

(Mr. Abdallah)

The agreement was executed in Algiers on 5 August 1979 and signed, for the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, Second Vice-Chairman of the Military Committee of National Salvation and Minister in charge of the Committee; and for the Frente POLISARIO, by Bachir Mustapha Sayed, Assistant Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO and member of the Executive Committee and of the Commanding Council of the Revolution.

The courage and the sense of responsibility which prompted the Sahraoui and Mauritanian parties should set an example for the King of Morocco, who should avoid any political illusions. The interests of the Moroccan people and the safeguarding of peace should take precedence over any personal ambitions or utopian dreams.

A source of encouragement in our struggle is the growing international solidarity and the refusal of international organizations to accept military faits accomplis in Western Sahara, which thus reaffirms ever more strongly the inalienable right of our people to independence. The blind pursuit of an annexationist policy by the criminal régime in Rabat will only encourage the international community to support the peoples in our area that are victims of aggression and will thus enlarge the circle of those that recognize the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. Twenty-four countries have already recognized that Republic, and more than 100 countries have decided to recognize the Frente POLISARIO, which is meeting the daily challenge of expansionism and Moroccan colonialism.

The Sahraoui people, which is today a victim of the declared intentions of the King of Morocco, is not the only victim: Algeria too has been subjected to aggression and expansionist and annexationist attempts by Morocco; and what is not surprising today is that no sooner has Mauritania withdrawn from the unjust war which did not concern it than it finds its security threatened and its country undermined by destabilization fostered by the thinly veiled

(Mr. Abdallah)

intentions of those responsible. Indeed, has not the Mauritanian Prime Minister, Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla, just appealed to the international community to repel the Moroccan aggressors, who claim to be his allies?

We are confident, however, that the peoples of the area will thwart these expansionist plans and will rise up, heads held high, for the triumph of law and justice.

The international community must nevertheless remain ever vigilant and alert to the real danger posed by the monster of Moroccan expansionism and must make every effort to destroy it.

The Sahraoui people, for its part, will resist by all means at its disposal and will impose its national rights and thwart any underhanded policies or acts of aggression against its national territory.

The petitioner withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand that the representative of Mauritania would like to address the Committee. With the Committee's consent, I accordingly invite him to take a place at the Committee table and to address the Committee.

Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): Mr. Chairman, first of all I want to discharge a pleasant duty, that of offering you our fraternal thanks for the opportunity you have given us to speak before the Special Committee of 24 at a time when this Committee is considering a question that is of interest to my country and that has been for several years a subject of concern not only for the peoples of the Maghreb but for the whole African continent, and even beyond the African continent for the entire international community. I also wanted to ask you, Mr. Chairman, to convey my thanks to the other members of the Special Committee of 24 who were kind enough to give me this opportunity to speak here.

It is not my intention to make a speech such as the one the Committee has just heard, first of all because I have not prepared a statement and, secondly, because I feel that it is not a suitable occasion for such an undertaking. But after the statement made by the representative of POLISARIO, I wanted simply to explain here what constitutes the position of the Mauritanian Government in face of the development of the Western Sahara problem since 10 July 1978, when considerable changes took place in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Since 10 July, as is known, there has also been a change in the Government and certain new approaches have been taken with respect to the Sahara question.

Now Mauritania has always felt that problems such as that of the Sahara primarily concern the African continent, and therefore the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is the competent organ to deal with them and, in cases of conflict that divide a fraternal people, to find a solution that would safeguard the higher interests of all nations on our continent. All Mauritanian delegations, whether they be here in the United Nations, in the meetings of the non-aligned or in the meetings of the OAU, have always expressed this view, and we have never forsaken this fundamental position of our Government and our people. This is the path we have always followed, and independently of positions or different occasions by the non-aligned, by the United Nations, and notably by this Committee, we have always felt that any fundamental change in our position must first of all be acceptable to the Heads of the African States

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

At Khartoum, during July, the Heads of African States felt that it was necessary to set up a committee to consider in depth the Sahara question and to try to find a solution that would be conformity with the higher interests of the nations of the Maghreb. Such a committee came into existence under the direction of the acting chairman of the OAU, which went then to the Sahara, to Mauritania, to Algeria and to Morocco so as to make contacts there with the various parties interested in this question of the Sahara. The Sub-Committee of that "Committee of Wise Men" submitted its report to the OAU at its meeting in Monrovia, and the OAU took a decision that is a very wise one and that, had it been acted on, would probably have led to a solution satisfactory to all the interests of the region.

The Mauritanian Government solemnly proclaimed even before that date that in this war which divides fraternal peoples and where there can be no victors but only losers, it would try to use every means to bring about a peaceful solution. And we were favourably impressed by the report of the African Heads of State and by the position taken by the OAU at the summit meeting of that organization at Monrovia. Mauritania said - and I want to repeat this here - that if no solution could be found within the framework of the recommendations of the OAU, the Mauritanian people would assume its responsibility to find a solution that would first of all conform to its own interests but that would also take into account the interests of the other peoples in that region. Since that time we have begun negotiations, which we believe to be useful and normal, with the Frente POLISARIO in an attempt to find a peaceful solution to the tragedy that is dividing the nations of the Maghreb. These contacts have been continued and, fortunately, an agreement has been signed, first in Tripoli, and then in Algiers, between the Frente POLISARIO and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. That agreement does not go beyond the decision adopted by the African Heads of State because the African Heads of State, in the recommendations they made, asked all the countries interested in this problem to bear in mind the following:

"First, the creation of an atmosphere favourable to peace in the region requires the imposition of an immediate cease-fire;

"Secondly, the exercise of the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara in a free and general referendum should make it possible for it to choose one of two options: first, total independence; secondly, the maintenance of the status quo."

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

This was the recommendation of the OAU at its summit held at Monrovia. So it became necessary to make contacts with all the concerned parties, and we felt that the Frente POLISARIO was one of the interested parties with which it was necessary to make contacts in order to bring about a solution. We did this without any ulterior motives, in the belief that such an attitude did not threaten the interests of any country, but that, on the contrary, it would serve as the basis for an understanding that could later be used to bring about a comprehensive solution of the tragedy that is now afflicting the peoples of the Maghreb.

Thus, this peace agreement, I want to repeat here, certainly does not conflict with the interests of any country. First of all, Mauritania wants to live in peace within its internationally recognized frontiers, and that peace we desire not only for ourselves, because we feel that in any war that divides Mauritania, the Sahraoui people and the peoples of the Maghreb there cannot be any victors, because those who die are all brothers and of the same blood, and that in a war of this kind nobody can possibly claim victory. Each and every death is an occasion for mourning for all the peoples living in the region.

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

Everyone stands to lose. We can say, therefore, that the agreement with the Frente POLISARIO which we signed in Algiers is a definitive peace agreement, and that this agreement must serve as an important step towards a final and general settlement of the conflict which now plagues the Maghreb region. It represents no change in the system of alliances, as some people have suggested. We certainly do not wish to sow discord. We wish to act as a catalyst in a rapprochement between the Algerian and Moroccan peoples, between the Mauritanian, Algerian and Moroccan peoples, as well as between the Mauritanian, Sahraoui, Algerian and Moroccan peoples.

The only wish that we can express at this time is that this Special Committee on decolonization take note of this agreement and that it continue to exert the efforts it has unceasingly exerted in the past to the end that all parties to the conflict may enter into a dialogue which will eventually lead to a comprehensive, negotiated solution, a solution which would safeguard the interests of all the nations of the region. Mauritania, for its part, feels not only that there is nothing for us to gain by this conflict, but that even if we could impose a solution on the Sahraoui people by armed force, the deaths caused thereby would certainly be more a cause of shame than a victory for all our nations. For in Africa, surely it is not in anyone's interest to launch a war against another African nation. Africa is an entity whose people are linked by sacred ties and where any problem which arises must be settled in the most peaceful manner. The blood shed - whether in Mauritania, the Sahara, Morocco or Algeria - is blood lost to Africa at a crucial moment in its history, when in the north there is the aggression committed by the Zionists against the higher interests of the African nation and in the south repeated aggression against the peoples of southern Africa, notably against Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

So we must close our ranks ever more tightly. We must join our efforts and utilize all our resources to struggle against underdevelopment; against the aggression of South Africa; the aggression of the colonialists and the neo-colonialists; the aggression of the Zionists. We can only do this by seeking to strengthen our ranks, to reinforce our solidarity - by trying truly to unite our peoples in fraternity, which is their

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

natural state, rather than by utilizing our resources to purchase arms in order to wage absurd and useless wars, wars which can only serve the interests of those who colonized us in the past and who seek to use the same means to colonize us in the future.

These are the few remarks I wanted to make before this Committee. As I said before, it was not my intention to make a speech and I did not prepare one. But before I conclude, I should like to launch an appeal to our Moroccan, Algerian and Sahraoui brothers: that the peace process that has been set in motion should become a truly dynamic one, for between the Sahraoui and Moroccan peoples no differences can exist. A war between Morocco and the Sahara is certainly not a war of which anyone - neither the Moroccan nor the Sahraoui people - can be proud. We feel that it is Mauritania's role to serve as a catalyst and to bring about a rapprochement between Algeria, Morocco, the Sahraoui people and all the nations of our region.

It was in order to achieve this purpose that we resumed our fraternal ties with the Algerian people which were broken off a few years ago. We felt that it was a great loss to have severed ties with a country with which we had always had excellent fraternal relations and co-operation which served the higher interests of both the Algerian and Mauritanian peoples.

Thus, it is my hope that our appeal will be heeded by all the peoples of the region, that this absurd and useless war will come to an end, that the relations achieved between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO may be reached also between Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO and that a fraternal spirit may once again prevail in this region of Africa so that our ideals of peace and justice may triumph once more.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of Mauritania for the very moving way in which he presented his country's position. Certainly members of the Committee and the Committee itself will not fail to take note of the peace treaty between the Frente POLISARIO and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania which has been signed in Algiers. As I stated earlier, this treaty has been circulated as an aide-mémoire to all Committee members, and a representative of the Frente POLISARIO read the entire text of the treaty into the record of this Committee.

Mrs. ORIYO (United Republic of Tanzania): The position of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania on the question of Western Sahara is very clear. We have consistently supported the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, for self-determination and independence. We have done so in conformity with our unflinching loyalty to the principles of self-determination and independence as embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). Those principles, which are cherished by this Organization and by all colonial peoples, are no less relevant, no less important, for the people of Western Sahara.

I have not, however, asked to be allowed to speak to address myself to the substance of the problem; we shall do so, should circumstances require this, when the item is discussed in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly later this year. The purpose of my statement is simply to welcome whole-heartedly the peace treaty signed in Algiers on 5 August 1979 between the Frente POLISARIO and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

(Mrs. Oriyo, United Republic
of Tanzania)

The decision of the Government of Mauritania to respect the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and to recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the authentic representative of the people of that Territory is a wise, imaginative, realistic and courageous one. We wish to commend the Government and people of Mauritania for this step.

This Committee, which has consistently supported and advocated the legitimate right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination, must welcome this important development with appreciation and relief. Coming as it does in the wake of the important and historic decision taken by the Organization of African Unity's Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its meeting in Monrovia, Liberia, in July of this year, which, inter alia, unequivocally supported the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination, Mauritania's decision to withdraw from Western Sahara assumes greater political and symbolic significance. It demonstrates that country's fidelity to the principles, purposes and decisions of the Organization of African Unity. It also encourages the process towards the eventual resolution of this problem, which must in our opinion take into account first and foremost the interests of the people of the Territory.

In conclusion I should like also, as a member of this Committee, to stress our appreciation of the positive efforts made by the Organization of African Unity through its ad hoc committee to find a lasting and just solution to the question of Western Sahara in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

Mr. ALVAREZ SANCHEZ (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): We are very pleased to have heard the well documented positions that have been submitted to the Committee by the representatives of the Frente POLISARIO and the Government of Mauritania. Unquestionably, they have made an invaluable contribution to the work of our Committee.

Since the last session of the Committee on decolonization there have been many important developments concerning the question of Western Sahara. Since 1975 the United Nations has considered the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to be applicable to the people of the Sahara. It has adopted the report of the visiting mission, which clearly expresses the

(Mr. Alvarez Sanchez, Cuba)

desire of the people of the Territory to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Since before that date the question of the Sahara has been discussed year after year in this Committee. The movement of non-aligned countries has taken cognizance of these events. I need mention only the agreement arrived at at the last meeting of the co-ordinating bureau, in Colombo, in July of this year which states:

"The Bureau recalled the decision adopted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government in Colombo and at the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries as well as the resolutions adopted at the last OAU summit and the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of Western Sahara." (A/34/357, para. 48)

It is no accident that the agenda of the Sixth Summit Conference, to be held soon in Havana, contains an item on the question of Sahara. It is important to point out to the Special Committee that the session of the Organization of African Unity held in Monrovia arrived at a decision that endorsed the opinion of the ad hoc committee created to bring about a settlement of the Sahara conflict. Through that decision the meeting underscored the responsibility of Africa towards the Saharan people, and it came out in favour of holding in less than a year a referendum under the supervision of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations with a view to the decolonization of the Territory.

The intensified armed struggle of the people of the Sahara and the international community's growing recognition of the Frente POLISARIO thanks to its consistent struggle and great political maturity, have in the last few weeks led to a substantial change in the conflict. The Mauritanian Government has not disregarded that fact and has taken responsible action, which our delegation is pleased in this Committee to welcome by recognizing the Frente POLISARIO and signing a peace agreement that recognizes the injustice of the war against the Sahraoui people and states Mauritania's willingness to withdraw from the territory.

The Mauritanian Government has taken a step of major importance in the interests of bringing about peace in the Maghreb and safeguarding the sovereign right of the Sahraoui people to determine their own future.

(Mr. Alvarez Sanchez, Cuba)

Morocco with its expansionist ambitions now stands in isolation. It has the support of only those who say they are maintaining neutrality in the conflict, but who, on the other hand, approve the sale of weapons that are used to repress the Sahraoui people.

Morocco has invoked what it calls its historic right, a right that has in actual fact been denied in the region for some time and rejected by one side in the conflict. Moroccan expansionism is in effect a despoliation of the African continent and the international community. We must expose Moroccan attempts at destabilization in the area, which are a danger to the peace and stability of the region, and we must prevent barbaric attacks on those who are rejected by the colonial administration.

In the opinion of our delegation, bearing in mind the decision of the recent session of the Organization of African Unity and the signing of the peace treaty between the Frente POLISARIO and the Government of Mauritania, our Committee should include those decisions in its records for inclusion in its next report to the General Assembly.

Today, more than ever before, it is necessary for us to express our support for the Sahraoui people and their representative the Frente POLISARIO, so as to help them exercise their right to self-determination and independence. We are pleased to congratulate them upon their accomplishments, and we reiterate our fullest support.

Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic): Having studied both the resolution adopted at the sixteenth session of the Organization of African Unity held in Monrovia in July last on the question of Western Sahara and the agreement signed between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO earlier this month, my delegation appreciates and welcomes both of those recent developments and considers them constructive steps forward in the right direction towards the achievement of a just and lasting settlement of this thorny question in the Arab-African world.

My country has always sided with the view that the Saharan Arab people have the inalienable right to self-determination in conformity with the relevant United Nations resolutions. That being understood and once again reaffirmed, my delegation welcomes any acceptable peaceful means that may serve this purpose among the brotherly Arab countries.

Mr. MOTAHARI (Iran): My delegation listened with great interest to the statement just made by Mr. Abdallah, representative of the Frente POLISARIO. I should like to thank him for the statement and for the valuable information he provided to the Committee. There is no doubt that his contribution to the work of the Committee will enable us to have a better and clearer picture of the recent developments in Western Sahara.

I should like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of the Committee in a very brief manner the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the question of Western Sahara. In this case, as in other colonial cases, we are firmly committed to the principle of self-determination and independence as contained in resolution 1514 (XV). We extend our moral and political support to the Sahraoui people in their just struggle to achieve self-determination and independence. In this connexion, we recall with satisfaction the decision made at the sixteenth ordinary session of the Organization of African Unity to the effect that the Sahraoui people should decide through referendum about their political future.

We welcome the peace treaty between the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO. We hope that this new development will facilitate the achievement of a peaceful solution of the problem and will enable the Sahraoui people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

The CHAIRMAN: Having heard the statement of the representative of Mauritania and the statement of the representative of the Frente POLISARIO and having noted the agreement concluded between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO, I take it that the Committee decides to continue consideration of the item at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly might give it in that connexion at its forthcoming session and that, in order to facilitate the Fourth Committee's consideration of the question, the Committee wishes to authorize the Rapporteur to transmit to the Assembly all available information relating to the Territory, including the latest developments, namely the signing of the peace treaty and the resolution adopted at the sixteenth ordinary session of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Monrovia, Liberia.

If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

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The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has now concluded its consideration of this item.

QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES

The CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Visiting Mission to Guam, Ambassador Gelaga-King of Sierra Leone, has informed me that with the necessary assistance and co-operation of the Secretariat, the Mission's report should be completed in good time to enable the Committee to submit its report on the item during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Accordingly, the Committee will meet to consider the report of the Mission as soon as it becomes available. In this connexion, I should request the Secretariat to give the necessary priority to the processing of the document in order to facilitate our work, as well as that of the General Assembly. I should like to stress that it is important that that document be completed in order to ensure that the Committee may submit its report to the General Assembly at the earliest possible time during the thirty-fourth session. In this respect, I should like to emphasize that it would be most desirable if the report of the Mission could be considered by the Special Committee prior to the beginning of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN: With the exception of the question of Guam, the Special Committee has now concluded its consideration of all the items on its agenda. I should like to take this opportunity to make a few brief remarks concerning some of the activities of the Committee and what I believe has been achieved during the eight months in which we have worked together.

First and foremost among what I perceive as positive developments - and no doubt members will readily agree - is the emergence earlier this year of two new independent States - St. Lucia and the Gilbert Islands. Indeed the latter, which joined the free nations of the world as Kiribati, had engaged the close attention of the Special Committee for a number of years and

(The Chairman)

a Committee mission visited the Territory in 1974 at the invitation of the then administering Power. I need hardly state that we shall look forward to further similarly happy developments in the near future.

Looking back on the past eight months, members will also agree that the highlight of our work this year was the series of meetings which we held in April in the capital of non-aligned Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Government of that country. That these meetings forcefully demonstrated, in the words of President Tito, that the moment was right

"for the United Nations to express its solidarity and provide effective assistance to the peoples of southern Africa and to take decisive measures to isolate the racist régimes and apply effective sanctions against them"

(A/AC.109/PV.1138, p. 5).

is, I think, self-evident. As I have stated elsewhere, our meetings in Belgrade, attended by representatives of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, as well as by representatives of a number of specialized agencies and other organizations, will be remembered not only in terms of its accomplishments but also in the broader perspective of the efforts of the international community to further the process of decolonization, particularly in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The Belgrade Final Document on the Decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which the Committee adopted by consensus at the conclusion of its meetings, reflects an irrevocable stand of the United Nations, embodying the principles which the Organization upholds as tenets underlying the resolution of the ever deteriorating situation in these Territories. Thus, in this document, the Committee affirmed once again the fundamental premise that any settlement in either Territory can only be acceptable if it is based on genuine independence and has been worked out with the full participation of the national liberation movement of the Territory concerned. The Committee also underscored the continuing and pressing need for the international community to strengthen its full support, both moral and material, for the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their respective national liberation movements. The Committee emphasized in particular the need for the total isolation of the illegal régime of Salisbury and the racist régime of South Africa, both of which bear a grave responsibility for the creation of a situation which seriously threatens international peace and security.

(The Chairman)

Furthermore, the Committee appealed for the stringent enforcement of existing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and for their expansion to include all the measures envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter. It also requested the Security Council to consider imposing a mandatory embargo on the supply of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa.

Containing these and other equally important considerations and coming at a time when the minority régimes in southern Africa are engaged in ever more desperate attempts to postpone the inevitable transition to majority rule, the Final Document adopted at Belgrade therefore constitutes a most important reiteration of the basic principles laid down by the United Nations on which any settlement in respect of Zimbabwe and Namibia must be based.

During the year, the Committee continued its intensified consideration of the question of the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies and the organizations within the United Nations system. It is a matter of principle for this Committee that every effort should be made by the international community to provide the colonial peoples and their national liberation movements with the assistance they require throughout the period leading to their liberation. It is within this context that the Committee dispatched this year a five-member mission to hold consultations with the executive heads of several agencies, thus building on the work carried out by the Sub-Committee dealing with this matter. I have also had the opportunity of holding very useful consultations on related aspects of the matter with the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Assistant Administrator of the Regional Bureau for Africa of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); as members will recall, I also represented the Special Committee at the latest session of the Economic and Social Council and had consultations with its President. I need hardly state that, despite very real progress in recent years, the needs of the oppressed peoples in southern Africa remain enormous and that increased assistance is required of all concerned. I am confident, therefore, that the organizations and institutions in the United Nations system will continue to intensify their efforts to meet those needs and that the Committee for its part will continue to do all in its power to bring about the desired result.

(The Chairman)

During the year, the Special Committee has again continued to pay close attention to the decolonization of the many smaller Territories in the Caribbean and in the Asian and Pacific regions. In this regard, it is noteworthy that, in its consideration of most of these Territories, the Committee has again received the co-operation of the administering Powers concerned. As a result of this co-operation, the Committee was able this year to send a visiting mission to Guam, under the administration of the United States.

(The Chairman)

Furthermore, the Governments of Australia and the United Kingdom have extended invitations to the Committee to send visiting missions to the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and to the Turks and Caicos Islands under their respective administrations. I need not, I am sure, emphasize the value and importance the Committee attaches to the sending of visiting missions. Suffice it to say that, in the Committee's view, there is no substitute for the direct and first-hand information which these missions can secure on the situation in the Territories concerned and on the wishes and aspirations of their peoples as regards their future status. As our past experience has repeatedly shown, the tasks of this Committee with respect to the smaller dependent Territories are made substantially lighter when the peoples concerned are given a genuine opportunity to express their wishes. I should like, therefore, to express the hope that we shall be able to continue to count on the co-operation of the administering Powers in receiving further missions in other remaining Territories.

As we come to the end of this session, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all the members of the Committee whose co-operation and understanding have again contributed so much to facilitating the work of the Chairman. The friendly relations and harmonious atmosphere prevailing among members, the seriousness demonstrated by all in every aspect of our work, as well as the prevalent spirit of accommodation, have undoubtedly contributed greatly to the progress we have been able to achieve. It is my hope that the same friendly spirit of co-operation will continue to prevail in our Committee as we face the remaining challenges before us. In this regard, my very special thanks go to my colleagues and friends, the officers of the Committee - Ambassador Abdulah of Trinidad and Tobago, Ambassador Thunborg of Sweden, and Mr. Neytchev of Bulgaria, our three Vice-Chairmen, as well as Mr. Haydar of the Syrian Arab Republic, our Rapporteur - all of whom have always come forward with timely advice and valuable assistance.

(The Chairman)

I am also indebted to Mr. Yere of the Ivory Coast, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Small Territories, and to that Sub-Committee's Rapporteur, Mr. Morris of Australia, both of whom were called upon to undertake the long and arduous tasks of holding consultations and negotiations to make possible the achievement of consensus decisions. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, Mr. Neytchev of Bulgaria. To all these colleagues, I owe a personal debt of gratitude for their dedicated service, not only to me, but also to the Committee and to the process of decolonization in general. We have worked together in a spirit of complete friendship, understanding and solidarity, and this is an experience which I shall always value.

My deep appreciation also goes to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continued efforts in support of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples still struggling for their freedom and human dignity. I wish also to pay a tribute to Mr. Issoufou Djermakoye, the Under-Secretary-General, and to his deputy, Mr. Najmuddine Rifai, for all the assistance they and their staff have consistently given me and the Committee throughout the year.

I wish to pay a particular tribute to our Committee's Secretary, Mr. Thomas Tanaka, who has continued as in previous years to provide his services to me and to members of the Committee with dedication, total commitment, and exceptional ability.

I should like to thank, on behalf of the Committee, all the interpreters, press officers, verbatim reporters, conference officers and all the Secretariat staff, both visible and in the background, without whose dedication we could not have carried out our work.

In concluding, let me say that this year, like the previous seven years, has been an extremely rewarding one for me as the Chairman of the

(The Chairman)

Special Committee, and I shall certainly always remember and cherish the co-operation, the guidance and the assistance all of you have extended to me during the years in which I have had the pleasure and privilege of serving you and the Committee.

At our next meeting, to be announced in the Journal of the United Nations, the Committee will consider the report of its Visiting Mission to Guam and will formally conclude its session for the year.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WESTERN SAHARA

THE EVIDENCE SEEMS INESCAPABLE OF SOME HOTTING UP IN THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE. KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO CONDUCTED A PRESS INTERVIEW ON SUNDAY 19 AUGUST IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO 'LE MONDE'S' 21 AUGUST REPORT, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE POLISARIO FRONT IS A 'MAURITANIAN MOVEMENT' AND IF IT WERE TO 'COME TO POWER IN MAURITANIA' MOROCCO WOULD CONSIDER THAT AN 'INTERNAL AFFAIR' AND WOULD NOT INTERVENE.
- MOROCCO FOR ITS PART WAS READY TO DEFEND ITS FRONTIERS TO THE END: IT DID NOT HOWEVER HAVE TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE REMAINING SPANISH ENCLAVES (ON THE COAST) AND ALGERIAN-MOROCCAN BORDER QUESTIONS, INCLUDING SOVEREIGNTY OVER TINDOUF AND THE EXACT LOCATION OF THE BORDER IN THE SAHARA, WERE SEPARATE AND SHOULD BE SETTLED BY BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AS CONDITIONS PERMITTED. MOROCCO HAD NO WISH TO GO BACK ON ITS 1972 BORDER AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA.
- IF ALGERIA'S AIM IN ITS WESTERN SAHARA POLICY WAS TO GAIN A CORRIDOR TO THE ATLANTIC, IT COULD NOW DO SO BY GOING THROUGH MAURITANIA.
- IF MOROCCO AND ALGERIA WERE TO END UP AT WAR WITH EACH OTHER, THEY WOULD COME OUT OF IT RUINED AND THE ONLY REAL WINNER WOULD BE LIBYA. GADHAFFI WANTED TO BE DOMINANT IN THE REGION.
- THERE WAS EVERY CHANCE OF A MOROCCAN RAPPROCHEMENT WITH ALGERIA, NO LESS NOW THAN BEFORE. THE SITUATION WOULD BE CLEARER IN A MONTH OR SO'S TIME.

2. KING HASSAN ALSO SAID THAT IF MAURITANIA WERE ATTACKED MOROCCO WOULD DEFEND IT, ESCEPT AGAINST POLISARIO, AND THAT HE HAD ADVISED THE MAURITANIAN POPULATION 'WHO CALL THEMSELVES POLISARIO' EITHER TO TAKE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY OR TO

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RECONSTRUCT IT. HE SAID ONE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO ALGERIA FOR HAVING RECONCILED THE TWO 'BROTHERS', POLISARIO AND MAURITANIA, CHARACTERISING THIS AS AN INTERNAL MAURITANIAN AFFAIR.

3. THE GIST OF ALL THIS, IMPROBABLE AS IT MAY SEEM, IS THAT HASSAN IS SUGGESTING THAT POLISARIO AND ITS SUPPORTERS BELONG IN MAURITANIA (WITH MOROCCO OF COURSE UNDISPUTED SOVEREIGN POWER OVER WHAT WAS SPANISH SAHARA).

4. FACED WITH MOROCCO'S INCREASINGLY SKAKY INTERNATIONAL POSITION ON THE SAHARAN QUESTION (WITH ALGERIA MAKING NEW BIDS FOR O.A.U. AND U.N. ENDORSEMENT OF POLISARIO - SEE REFTEL) THE KING LAID MUCH STRESS DURING HIS INTERVIEW ON HISTORICAL/JURIDICAL SUPPORT FOR MOROCCO'S CLAIM TO A SLICE OF THE SAHARAN HINTERLAND. PARTICULAR ARGUMENTS HE ADVANCED WERE THAT MAURITANIAN/ALGERIAN AGREEMENT CONTRADICTED THE WORLD COURT'S FINDING THAT WESTERN SAHARA HAD ESTABLISHED LINKS WITH MOROCCO, THAT THE WAY IN WHICH MAURITANIA HAD GIVEN UP ITS CONTROL OVER TIRS-EL-GHARBIJA WAS NOT A GENUINE DECOLONISATION PROCESS, AND THAT IN FACT THE AGREEMENT WITH POLISARIO HAD VIOLATED THE U.N. RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR AN EXPRESSION OF OPINION BY THE INHABITANTS OF SAHARA.

5. ACCORDING TO 'LE MONDE' OF 22 AUGUST THE MAURITANIAN CABINET HAS EXPRESSED ITS 'INDIGNATION' AT KING HASSAN'S REMARKS DURING THE 20 AUGUST CONFERENCE, AND IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA ARE UNLIKELY TO MAINTAIN THE CAREFUL BUT TENUOUS FACADE OF POLITENESS WHICH PREVAILED IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MAURITANIA-POLISARIO AGREEMENT OF 5 AUGUST. HASSAN'S SABRE-RATTLING IS ESSENTIAL TO HIS DOMESTIC POSITION, BUT CAN ONLY MAKE IT HARD FOR HIM TO RETAIN HIS FRIENDS ABROAD - CONTINUED (LET ALONE INCREASED) UNITED STATES SUPPORT, FOR EXAMPLE, WILL BE HARD TO IMAGINE IF MOROCCO BECOMES INCREASINGLY DISCREDITED IN A REGION WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAS ENOUGH TROUBLES ALREADY. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE ARAB LEAGUE, CHEDLI KLIFI, IS REPORTED TO HAVE SENT A LETTER ON 18 AUGUST TO ALL MEMBER COUNTRIES ADVISING OF DISCUSSIONS HE HAD HAD WITH ALGERIAN AND MOROCCAN REPRESENTATIVES IN TUNIS AND CALLING FOR AN ARAB MEDIATION EFFORT, BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE AT THIS STAGE HOW THIS INITIATIVE COULD AMOUNT TO MUCH.

6. THE SHIFT IN INTERNATIONAL OPINION AWAY FROM A PRO-MOROCCAN POSITION IS REFLECTED IN THE FIRST SPANISH COMMENT ON THE SITUATION WE HAVE SEEN, AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER, MARCELINO OREGA, IN FRANCE (WHERE THE MINISTER IS ON HOLIDAY) ON 18 AUGUST, PUBLISHED IN 'LE MONDE' OF 21 AUGUST. M. OREGA CLAIMED THAT SPAIN'S POSITION ON THE WESTERN SAHARA HAD NOT CHANGED SINCE 1976 - THAT IS TO SAY THAT SPAIN WISHED TO SEE A REFERENDUM GIVING THE WESTERN SAHARAN PEOPLE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. HE SAID THAT SPAIN CONSIDERED POLISARIO TO BE THE

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U SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE. (HE EXPLAINED THAT THE PHRASE "IN THE STRUGGLE" WAS MEANT TO IMPLY THAT THOSE SAHARAN PEOPLE WHO WERE NOT ENGAGED IN THE STRUGGLE DID NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES PART OF THE POLISARIO FRONT)

7. M. OREGA SAID THAT SPAIN WOULD BE READY TO AGREE TO ANY SUGGESTION OF A MEETING IN MADRID OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED, SO LONG AS SPAIN WAS NOT CONSIDERED AS THE ADMINISTERING POWER OF WESTERN SAHARA. HE ADDED THAT SPAIN RETAINED THE HIGHEST REGARD FOR THE MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES AND PEOPLE, AS REFLECTED IN THE VISIT IN JUNE OF KING JUAN CARLOS TO MOROCCO. COMMENT: IN A BALANCING GESTURE, THE SPANISH PRIME MINISTER HAD SHORTLY BEFORE VISITED ALGERIA). HE SAID THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS REMAINED GOOD DESPITE THE EXISTENCE OF "A PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION", AN ARCH REFERENCE TO THE LONG-RUNNING DISPUTE OVER THE SMALL SPANISH ENCLAVES ON THE NORTHERN MOROCCAN COAST.

8. REPORTING WE HAVE SEEN HERE OF THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND SUGGESTS THAT POLISARIO RETAINS CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE IN THE FACE OF MOROCCO'S RECENT MILITARY INITIATIVES. MOROCCAN OFFICERS ON THE SOUTHERN FRONT ARE REPORTED IN THE FRENCH PRESS ("LES ECHOS", 20 AUGUST) AS RECOGNISING THAT POLISARIO HAS SUCCEEDED IN CREATING "TOTAL INSECURITY" THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN SAHARA, DESPITE THE PRESENCE OF SOME FORTY THOUSAND MOROCCAN TROOPS. MOROCCAN TROOPS ARE REPORTED AS BEING DUE TO LEAVE MAURITANIA FROM THE BEGINNING OF THIS WEEK IN A PROGRAM EXTENDING OVER SEVERAL DAYS. (THE "INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE" OF 21 AUGUST REPORTS THAT, FOLLOWING MOROCCAN WITHDRAWALS FROM THE DISMANTLED AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN ZAIRE, FRENCH TROOPS HAVE RECOMMENCED MANOEUVRES THERE).

U 9. THE FRENCH OFFICIAL POSITION, AS QUOTED IN O.PA67604, REMAINS THAT FRANCE WOULD WELCOME ANY SETTLEMENT SATISFACTORY TO ALL THE PARTIES OF THE DISPUTE, BUT SEES NO ROLE FOR ITSELF. THE PRESS HERE HAS NEVERTHELESS COMMENTED THAT FRANCE'S POSITION HAS MOVED SOMEWHAT FROM A CERTAIN LEANING TOWARDS MOROCCO IN THE EARLIER STAGES TO A MORE COMPLETE DETACHMENT. AS WELL AS BEING A RESPONSE TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, A FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACT HAS COMMENTED TO US THAT THE EARLIER PRO-MOROCCAN TENDENCY WAS INITIATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY INCLINED ALONG TO LAY A MORE HARD-HEADED EMPHASIS ON THE GREATER IMPORTANCE OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA AND WITH THE REGION AS A WHOLE. THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER, FRANCOIS MITTERRAND, HAS ADDRESSED A TELEGRAM CONGRATULATING THE MARITANIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE POLISARIO FRONT ON THEIR AGREEMENT. SOME CONCERN HAS BEEN EXPRESSED ABOUT THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF A DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO, WHICH IS THE COUNTRY OF THE REGION WITH THE LARGEST FRENCH POPULATION (54,000) REFLECTING A NUMBER

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OF MAJOR TRADE LINKS AND INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENTS. THE COSTS OF THE WAR, THE FALLING REAL PRICE OF PHOSPHATE EXPORTS AND RAPIDLY-RISING INFLATION ARE REPORTED TO BE PUTTING FRENCH INVESTMENTS AT RISK, WHILE MOROCCO IS ATTEMPTING TO REDUCE FOREIGN IMPORTS.

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

WESTERN SAHARA

EL MOUDJAHID, THE FRENCH LANGUAGE DAILY, CARRIED ON 17/18 AUGUST, THE TEXTS OF LETTERS FROM ALGERIA'S PRESIDENT TO THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE OAU, AND FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF THE UN, OAU AND ARAB LEAGUE.

2. PRESIDENT CHADLI'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT DENOUNCED MOROCCO'S 'NEW AGGRESSION' AGAINST THE PORTION OF WESTERN SAHARA FORMERLY ADMINISTERED BY MAURITANIA. HE CALLED ON AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO CONDEMN MOROCCO'S ACTS OF AGGRESSION AND TO DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF MOROCCAN TROOPS FROM THE ENTIRE WESTERN SAHARA, AND PROMISED SUPPORT FOR ANY INITIATIVE PRESIDENT TOLBERT MIGHT TAKE.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER BENYAHIA'S LETTER TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL WAS COINED IN SIMILAR PHRASES, DESCRIBING THE 'INVASION' OF THE WESTERN SAHARA BY MOROCCO AS A CONTRAVENTION OF THE CHARTERS OF THE UN AND OAU, NOTING THAT IT WAS THE DUTY OF THE UN TO CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF MOROCCAN TROOPS, AND EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE IN ANY ACTION MR WALDHEIM MIGHT TAKE.

4. THE SAME EDITION OF EL MOUDJAHID PUBLISHED A STATEMENT BY THE POLITBURO OF THE FLN TO THE EFFECT THAT, WHEN FORCE TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER RIGHT, THE PRIVILEGE OF USING FORCE WOULD NOT BELONG TO MOROCCO ALONE.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME

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INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S	DIR-ADAB			

ACCRA CAIRO LAGOS LONDON MADRID TRIPOLI

UNP 935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



SECURITY
COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/427
S/13503
20 August 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the provisional agenda*
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 18 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative
of Mauritania to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you the following message:

"The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, by the agreement of Algiers concluded on 10 August 1979 with the representatives of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Seguiet El Hamra and Rio de Oro, Polisario, has renounced all territorial claims to Western Sahara and decided to withdraw definitively from the war taking place there.

In addition, in the declaration of 14 August 1979, it decided to withdraw its troops and administration from the part of Western Sahara which it had been controlling and requested the Moroccan Government to withdraw forthwith its contingents stationed in Mauritanian territory.

In so doing, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania took account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. It has acted in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara.

By relinquishing all claims to Western Sahara and withdrawing from the part of the region which it had been controlling, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania considers that it has also withdrawn from the conflict concerning this territory. It has thereby assumed a position of strict neutrality.

* A/34/150.



UNITED NATIONS

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania therefore requests the United Nations to take note of the agreement of Algiers of 10 August 1979 and the Declaration of Nouakchott of 14 August 1979, the texts of which are annexed hereto, and to consider these two documents as establishing the neutrality of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in the Western Sahara conflict. It also appeals to the United Nations to use all its authority to ensure that States and organizations concerned by the Western Sahara conflict respect this neutral status and the integrity of Mauritanian territory within the limits of the frontiers defined in 1960 and internationally recognized."

I should be grateful if you would have this message and its annexes circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 18 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Sid'Ahmed Ould TAYA
Permanent Representative

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you the following message:

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, by the agreement of Algiers concluded on 10 August 1979 with the representatives of the Polisario Front for the liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro, has renounced all territorial claims to Western Sahara and decided to withdraw definitively from the war taking place there.

In addition, in the declaration of 14 August 1979, it decided to withdraw its troops and administration from the part of Western Sahara which it had been controlling and requested the Moroccan Government to withdraw forthwith its contingents stationed in Mauritanian territory.

In so doing, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania took account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. It has acted in accordance with resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Security Council and the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara.

By relinquishing all claims to Western Sahara and withdrawing from the part of the region which it had been controlling, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania considers that it has also withdrawn from the conflict concerning this territory. It has thereby assumed a position of strict neutrality.

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Annex I

Mauritano-Sahraoui agreement, signed at Algiers
on 10 August 1979

"Considering the commitment of the Mauritanian and Sahraoui parties to scrupulous respect for the inviolable principles of the Charters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations concerning the rights of peoples to self-determination and the intangibility of frontiers inherited from the colonial era;

"Considering the sincere desire of the two parties, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Frente Polisario, to establish a just and definitive peace in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect and neighbourliness;

"Considering the urgent need for the two parties to find a global and definitive solution to the conflict, guaranteeing the Sahraoui people their full national rights and peace and stability for the region;

- A. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania solemnly declares that it does not have and will not have any territorial or other claims on Western Sahara.
- B. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania decides to withdraw definitively from the unjust Western Sahara war according to the modalities determined by common agreement with the representatives of the Sahraoui people, the Frente Polisario;

"The Frente Polisario solemnly declares that it does not have and will not have any territorial claims on Mauritania.

"The Frente Polisario, on behalf of the Sahraoui people, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania hereby decide to sign an agreement for definitive peace between the two parties.

"The two parties have decided to hold periodic meetings to see that the modalities referred to in paragraph B are followed.

"The two parties shall transmit this agreement immediately after its signature to the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, the Secretary-General of OAU, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the current President of the non-aligned movement."

Annex II

Declaration of 14 August 1979 by the Prime Minister
of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania

"The Military Committee for National Safety and the Government, in order to meet your desire for peace, initiated a dynamic process which has just been crowned with success.

"In order to safeguard this newly achieved peace, the Military Committee for National Safety and the Government took the important measures listed below at special meetings held today:

1. The occupation by force of Dakhla by Moroccan troops is considered by Mauritania to be an act of aggression against its provisional administration, at which it is protesting with the utmost vigour to the international authorities;
2. Given this situation, the Government considers that it is no longer in a position to fulfil its commitments concerning Tiris El Gharbia;
3. Desiring to bring about the conditions necessary for the restoration of genuine peace, it has therefore decided to withdraw as from 15 August 1979 from Tiris El Gharbia and reaffirms that it no longer has any territorial claims thereto;
4. It is informing the parties concerned by the question of Western Sahara of its decision;
5. It is inviting international organizations, in particular the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, to assume their responsibilities;
6. It is requesting Morocco to withdraw its troops immediately from Mauritanian territory;
7. It is appealing to the international community, and in particular to friendly countries, to help it to defend its independence and its territorial integrity within the limits of its internationally recognized frontiers."

4 WP
93/282

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/420
17 August 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the provisional agenda*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from His Excellency
Mr. Mohamed Seddik Benyahia, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's
Democratic Republic of Algeria.

On instructions from my Government I would request that you kindly arrange
for this letter to be issued as a General Assembly document under item 18 of
the provisional agenda.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

* A/34/150.

ANNEX

Letter dated 16 August 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General
by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria

The sudden deterioration of the situation in north-western Africa following the new escalation by Morocco in attacking and occupying the territory of Western Sahara obliges me to draw your attention to the extremely dangerous consequences that the pursuit of such a policy can have for peace and the security of all the countries of the region.

In contempt of the decisions of the international community regarding the question of Western Sahara and principles governing international relations, Morocco has just invaded by force of arms the part of the territory of Western Sahara previously occupied by Mauritania.

This warmongering act giving rise to the most serious repercussions follows on the heels of the peace agreement signed between the Mauritanian Government and the Frente Polisario, an agreement which has been greeted with hope and satisfaction by the international community as a whole.

Appealing to an alleged right of pre-emption in order to justify its current invasion of the southern part of Western Sahara, after having replaced the colonialists in 1975 in both style and methods, Morocco is today resorting to the universally condemned methods of the Anschluss or, to take an example closer to home, the annexation of Namibia by South Africa or, yet again, the policy of expansionism and occupation of Arab territories pursued by Israel in successive acts of aggression.

The international community is well aware of all the disastrous consequences of such behaviour in relations between States, as well as of actions that constitute an attempt upon the status and rights of the peoples of non-self-governing territories. It must therefore react promptly in condemning Morocco's rash policy and calling for respect for the will of peoples to live in freedom and peace.

In the case of Western Sahara, this demand was solemnly declared just a few weeks ago by the whole of Africa, which, during the sixteenth summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity held at Monrovia, confirmed the rights of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and established under the responsibility of a number of heads of States an appropriate structure to guarantee the effective exercise of that right.

Proceeding directly from the spirit and letter of the Monrovia decisions, the final peace agreement signed on 5 August 1979 between Mauritania and the Frente Polisario constitutes an important landmark in the process that must restore peace and harmony among the peoples of the region, while guaranteeing the people of Western Sahara their basic national rights.

It is this process of true decolonization of Western Sahara, advocated both by OAU and the United Nations, that Morocco alone persists in thwarting by every means, particularly by force of arms.

The recent invasion of the southern part of Western Sahara by the Moroccan armed forces and the annexation of additional parts of that territory represent a new and serious challenge to the international community, while at the same time violating the Charter of the United Nations, the OAU Charter and all the established principles of international law.

The expansionist policy of Morocco seriously threatens peace and security in this part of Africa and runs the risk of having incalculable consequences for all the peoples of the region. For this reason, Algeria, which has repeatedly drawn to your attention the dangers involved in Morocco's policy and actions since 1975, once again appeals to your authority so that the United Nations might assume its full responsibility in this matter.

In fact, our Organization must, in accordance with the powers that its Charter assigned to it, enforce scrupulous respect for the rights of the peoples of non-self-governing territories and, more particularly, for all the decisions and resolutions concerning the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara.

Now that the Moroccan army is expanding its aggression against Western Sahara respect for these principles and decisions takes on great urgency not only so that justice might be done to a colonized people, but also in order to preserve peace and security in the region, which are seriously endangered.

In that regard, our Organization has the duty to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of all Moroccan occupation forces from the entire territory of Western Sahara, both from the part recently evacuated by Mauritania and from the part occupied by Morocco since 1975. That is one of the prior conditions for a genuine restoration of peace and for the effective implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara.

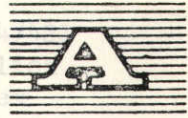
In the conviction that the seriousness of the situation that has resulted from Moroccan action in Western Sahara is a matter of the greatest concern to you, I wish to reiterate Algeria's confidence in any measures to that end that you may see fit to take.

(Signed) Mohamed BENYAHIA

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

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935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/421
17 August 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
Item 46 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Letter dated 16 August 1979 from the Permanent Representative
of Morocco to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-
General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a message addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. M'Hamed Boucetta, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco.

On instructions from my Government, I would request that you kindly arrange for this message to be issued as an official document of the General Assembly under item 46 of the provisional agenda.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

* A/34/150.

ANNEX

Message dated 8 August 1979 from Mr. M'Hamed Boucetta, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco addressed to the Secretary-General

As you know, Morocco was the first and the sole party to take the problem of Ifni and the Sahara, at that time under Spanish domination, to the United Nations. At its twentieth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1975, paragraph 2 of which states:

"Urgently requests the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories."

After having complied with this demand as regards the Territory of Ifni (1969), Spain always refused to apply the above-mentioned resolution in the case of the Sahara.

On account of the tension prevailing in the region as a result of Spain's equivocations, the Security Council was prompted to consider the problem and in November 1975 adopted resolution 380 (1975), which in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations recommended that the parties concerned should undertake negotiations.

In response to that appeal, Spain, Mauritania and Morocco undertook negotiations, which led to the tripartite agreement of Madrid of 14 November 1975, of which the General Assembly took note in resolution 3458 B (XXX) and which was registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations on 9 December 1975. 1/

As you also know, the problem was raised in various forums of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has considered it since 1965.

In 1976 the Port Louis summit meeting decided that an extraordinary summit meeting should be held in order to consider the so-called question of Western Sahara.

In 1978 the 15th summit meeting held at Khartoum adopted a resolution 2/ that:

1/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

2/ See A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II.

- A. Set up an Ad Hoc Committee composed of five African heads of State to consider all the data of the problem,
- B. Requested the submission of a report on the holding of an extraordinary summit meeting as called for by the 13th summit meeting held at Port Louis.

During the 16th meeting of the Organization of African Unity held this July at Monrovia, the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State submitted a report containing its recommendation. The following should be noted:

(a) In providing for an extraordinary summit meeting on the question of the Sahara, the resolution adopted at Khartoum clearly intended to give that question specific treatment and thus to maximize the chances for finding a global and, probably, lasting solution to it.

The 16th summit meeting, however, made no reference to the need for an extraordinary summit meeting, and by transforming itself into such a meeting served only to create more confusion regarding the data of the problem.

(b) Couched in general terms, the resolution adopted at Khartoum entrusted the Ad Hoc Committee merely with the "consideration of all data of the question" without giving it a mandate to submit a recommendation of any description. In endorsing a recommendation that was as peremptory and categorical as a verdict without appeal, the 16th summit meeting deliberately closed the door on any process of dialogue, consultation or concertation. Moreover, the invalidity of this recommendation followed from the shifting political and psychological factors involved in the problem, and the 16th summit meeting should, perhaps, in the light of a statement of the facts or a declaration of differences among the parties to the dispute, have served as another forum for thought and reflection aimed at safeguarding the chances of peace, rather than at ruining them under the influence of emotions and demagoguery.

It should be recalled, furthermore, that the precipitation and haste that marked the adoption of the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Committee were the principal factors in the deliberate violation in spirit and in letter of the OAU charter and its rules of procedure.

In fact, as far as procedure is concerned, in an effort to have the report and the recommendation adopted by consensus the Chairman of the 16th summit meeting requested the view of the Assembly, which recommended a roll-call vote to him. The vote did in fact take place. The results of the vote were announced as 32 in favour, 4 against, 9 abstentions and 4 absent.

The Chairman announced that since the required majority had not been obtained the report and the recommendation had been rejected. Confusion ensued, during which a number of delegations requested that the vote should be repeated, as one member State which had been absent during the vote, namely, Botswana, had returned and wished to vote in favour of the report. In the general confusion and outburst of

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emotion, the Chairman decided to proceed to a second vote, which aroused reactions that were as virulent as they were violent on the part of the delegations that were against that procedure. Those who were of that second opinion rightly considered that the second vote was inadmissible, irregular and anti-statutory, since the first decision by the Chair was the only one in conformity with the practices and customs of our organization.

However, a second vote was in fact taken, the results of which were 33 votes in favour, 2 against, 8 abstentions and 6 absent.

Consequently, from the point of view of procedure it should be noted that:

(a) In accordance with the practice of international bodies, including OAU, assemblies never put committee reports to the vote, but merely take cognizance or note of them, putting on record, where necessary, the reservations of delegations that have remarks to make with regard to the reports.

(b) In accordance with the practice of international conferences, when the results of a vote have been announced and a decision or resolution is adopted or rejected, there is no question of putting the matter to the vote again during the same meeting; article 81 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations (A/520/Rev.13) would have been an appropriate guide in this respect.

(c) It should also be emphasized that during the first vote no delegation voiced any objection with a view to halting or opposing the voting. It was, in fact, only following the rejection of the Committee's report, a rejection formally announced by the Chairman, that a number of delegations nevertheless saw fit to challenge the regularity of the first vote. In any event, and, in particular, in view of the procedural and substantive flaw that vitiated the procedure followed during the 16th summit meeting and distorted its deliberations, Morocco does not consider itself in any way bound by the results of that summit meeting, results that were moreover obtained in haste and precipitation and in the most flagrant contempt for the OAU charter and its rules of procedure. Furthermore, the lack of realism which Morocco has previously denounced has just been confirmed at Algiers by the very persons who contrived at Monrovia to defend the so-called merits of both the report and its recommendation. ??

I wish to draw your distinguished attention, Sir, to all these facts so that you might be fully informed regarding the irregular conduct of the debates of the 16th summit meeting on the question of Western Sahara and regarding the deliberate breaches of procedure committed with the aim of having the recommendation adopted.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA

MOROCCO HAS MOVED FAIRLY PREDICTABLY IN RESPONSE TO THE MAURITANIA - ALGERIA ACCORD : ITS MILITARY OCCUPATION ON 11 AUGUST OF THE TOWN OF DAKHLA IN THE FORMER MAURITANIAN PORTION OF WESTERN SAHARA HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN RABAT THAT THE WHOLE OF THIS PORTION OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY (TIRIS-EL-GHARBIA) WAS ANNEXED AS A PROVINCE OF MOROCCO ON 14 AUGUST.

2. THE MOROCCAN MOVE HAS NOT BEEN UNRESISTED, WITH A PARTICULARLY SERIOUS POLISARIO ATTACK ON THE MOROCCAN TOWN OF BIRANZARVM (IN BOUDJOUR PROVINCE) JUST BEFORE THE ANNOUNCED ANNEXATION. THE POLISARIO 'FOREIGN MINISTER' WAS REPORTED ON 15 AUGUST AS HAVING STATED IN PARIS THAT POLISARIO OPERATIONS AGAINST TARGETS WITHIN MOROCCO ARE TO BE INTENSIFIED.

3. NONETHELESS BOTH MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA SEEM TO BE SEEKING TO AVOID ANY TOTAL BREAKDOWN IN THEIR RELATIONS : 'LE MONDE' REPORTS THAT MOROCCAN OFFICIALS HAVE ACCEPTED THE RESULTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND ALGIERS AS INEVITABLE. THE MAURITANIA FOREIGN MINISTER, M. OULD ABDALLAH, HAS HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH KING HASSAN AND MOROCCAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOUCETTA, AFTER WHICH THE LATTER SAID THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD AGREED TO MAINTAIN THEIR RELATIONS 'AT AN OPERATIONAL LEVEL'.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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R E S T R I C T E D

UN COMMITTEE OF 24 : PROGRAM OF WORK

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF GUAM THE COMMITTEE CONCLUDED THE REMAINING ITEMS ON ITS PROGRAM OF WORK ON 16 AUGUST. THE COMMITTEE WILL MOST PROBABLY TAKE UP GUAM NEXT MONTH, WHEN THE REPORT OF THE VISITING MISSION BECOMES AVAILABLE.

2. GIBRALTAR, FALKLAND IS. (MALVINAS), BELIZE, BRUNEI, THE ASSOCIATED STATES, TIMOR AND WESTERN SAHARA WERE ALL DESPATCHED IN THE SAME MANNER AS LAST YEAR.

3. TTPI THE OUTSTANDING SUB-COMMITTEE ON SMALL TERRITORIES ITEM WAS FINALLY ADOPTED, BUT ONLY AFTER STRONG RESERVATIONS WERE RECORDED BY THE EAST EUROPEANS AND THEIR ALLIES.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RR CANBERRA/2314 PARIS EMB/731 UN NEW YORK/150
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FM. ALGIERS / REF O.PA67604

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA

IT APPEARS THAT, SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT OF 5 AUGUST BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND THE POLISARIHO FRONT (OUR M.AL885 OF 7 AUGUST, INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO MODIFY THE MOROCCAN POSITION, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. THE PRESIDENT OF MALI, WHO WAS GIVEN A SPECIAL CONCILIATORY ROLE BY THE OAU AD HOC COMMITTEE REPORT HAS VISITED ALGIERS TWICE IN THE PAST TEN DAYS.

2. THE HELPLESSNESS OF MAURITANIAN FORCES IN THE PRESENCE OF MOROCCAN TROOPS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY MOROCCO'S EFFECTIVE SEIZURE OF CONTROL OF THE MAIN CENTRES OF POPULATION IN THE WEST TIRIS (IE THE MAURITANIAN SECTOR OF THE WESTERN SAHARA) FROM 11 AUGUST ON. THE MAURITANIANS ANNOUNCED ON 13 AUGUST (ACCORDING TO THE ALGERIAN PRESS) THAT THEY WILL WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORY WITH EFFECT FROM 15 AUGUST. WE UNDERSTAND THAT MOROCCO INCORPORATED THE TERRITORY AS A PROVINCE ON (14 AUGUST). HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THAT ALTHOUGH NOUAKCHOTT HAS ACCUSED RABAT OF 'AGGRESSION', BOTH THE MAURITANIAN AND MOROCCAN AUTHORITIES HAVE SO FAR BEEN CAREFUL TO AVOID A FORMAL BREACH BETWEEN THEM.

3. THERE HAS BEEN RENEWED FORMAL CONTACT BETWEEN ALGERIA AND MAURITANIA. RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM WERE RESTORED ON 14 AUGUST.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
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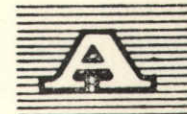
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UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
LIMITED

A/AC.109/L.1331
13 August 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

WESTERN SAHARA

Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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WESTERN SAHARA

1. GENERAL

1. Western Sahara is situated on the Atlantic coast of north-west Africa opposite the Canary Islands, bounded on the north and north-east by Morocco and Algeria and on the south and east by Mauritania. It has a total area of about 266,000 square kilometres and its seaboard measures 1,062 kilometres. Its land frontiers extend for a total length of 2,045 kilometres, the frontier with Mauritania being 1,570 kilometres long and that with Morocco and Algeria 475 kilometres. The Territory consists of two regions, Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, which form an integral part of the great Saharan Desert.

2. The climate of Western Sahara is very dry with enormous differences between nocturnal and diurnal temperatures. There is very little cultivation, except in some low-lying areas in the south which are watered by occasional rainfall.

3. The physical characteristics of this desert region have determined the traditional way of life of the indigenous inhabitants who are for the most part nomadic and pastoral, moving continuously over extensive areas which transcend international frontiers. Since 1968, however, following the drought which affected the whole Saharan region, a substantial part of the population has settled in and around the urban and trading centres.

4. The principal tribes in the Territory are the Erguibat, Ait Lahsen and Ulad Delim who are to be found also in Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria.

2. BACKGROUND

5. It will be recalled that on 14 November 1975, the Governments of Spain, Morocco and Mauritania agreed upon a Declaration of Principles, also known as the Madrid Agreement, a/ with respect to the Territory of Western Sahara. In accordance with the Declaration, Spain transferred its powers to a temporary administration, comprising the Spanish Governor-General at that time and two deputy governors, one nominated by Morocco and the other by Mauritania. In accordance with the terms of that agreement, Spain terminated its presence in the Territory on 26 February 1976.

6. On 14 April 1976, Morocco and Mauritania signed an agreement whereby the frontier between Mauritania and Morocco was defined by the straight line linking the point of intersection of the 24th parallel north and the 13th meridian west. With the frontier thus defined, the northern part of Western Sahara was integrated into Moroccan territory and the southern part into Mauritanian territory. The

a/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

Algerian Government, which had opposed the Madrid Declaration, accused the Spanish Government of repudiating its obligations with respect to the decolonization of the Territory and of handing over the Territory to Morocco and Mauritania.

7. The Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) declared that the Saharan people considered "the agreement concluded between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania as null and void and as an act of aggression and banditry" and reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

8. The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed on 27 February 1976, has reportedly been recognized by 20 countries: Algeria, Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mozambique, Panama, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Togo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Viet Nam.

3. CONSIDERATION BY THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

9. During the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, the Assembly adopted a resolution b/ in which it decided to set up an ad hoc committee of at least five heads of State, members of OAU, under the chairmanship of the President of the Sudan, who was the Chairman of the OAU session at that time. The task of the committee, as defined in the resolution, was to study "all the data" in the Western Sahara dispute, including the exercise of the people's right to self-determination, in preparation for an extraordinary summit meeting to discuss the issue.

10. In October, reports indicated that Morocco and Mauritania had accepted the mediation of the Ad hoc Committee in an effort to solve the problem of Western Sahara.

11. In a letter dated 7 November 1978, addressed to the Secretary-General (A/33/364), the Permanent Representative of Sudan to the United Nations transmitted a message from the Chairman of the Ad hoc Committee in which he stated that the committee would initiate its work on 30 November 1978 at Khartoum. The membership of the committee would comprise Mr. Gaafar Nimeiri, President of the Sudan (Chairman); Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania; c/ Mr. Moussa Traoré, President of Mali; Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria; Mr. Félix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast; and Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of Guinea.

b/ A/33/235, annex II, AHG/Res.92 (XV).

c/ The United Republic of Tanzania subsequently withdrew from the Ad hoc Committee following its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in November 1978.

12. In the same message, the Chairman of the committee expressed the hope that all States Members of the United Nations would refrain from taking any action likely to hamper the work of the committee or to delay arrival at a fair and peaceful solution to the problem (A/33/364).

13. On 10 November, the Frente POLISARIO strongly protested this request, stating that the responsibilities of the United Nations in matters of decolonization were independent from those of OAU. The Frente POLISARIO also claimed that the composition of the Ad hoc Committee would be unbalanced as long as Angola or Mozambique was not included.

14. In a letter dated 27 November, addressed to the President of the Sudan, (A/33/397, annex), Mr. Houari Boumediene, then President of Algeria, stated, inter alia, that consideration of the question of Western Sahara by the United Nations was strictly in conformity with the resolution of the Khartoum Summit (see para. 9 above) which expressly stated in paragraph 7 that the United Nations remained seized of the decolonization problem of Western Sahara. President Boumediene deplored the fact that the OAU secretariat had expressed the hope that the United Nations would avoid considering the question of Western Sahara; this, he stated, was contrary not only to the provisions of OAU and United Nations resolutions but also to the new spirit Algeria was fostering in order to ensure progress through dialogue and to the efforts of all aimed at a political solution of the crisis.

15. On 2 December, in a communiqué issued by the Ad hoc Committee following its two-day meeting at Khartoum, it was announced that a sub-committee comprising the Presidents of Nigeria and Mali had been formed with a mandate to visit the region, accompanied by the Secretary-General of OAU, and to contact all the parties concerned including "the Saharan people" in order to undertake necessary measures for restoring peace and security. The communiqué appealed to all parties to adhere to an immediate cease-fire to enable the sub-committee to accomplish its duties.

16. On 30 April 1979, the sub-committee visited Algeria, Mauritania and Morocco and met with representatives of the Frente POLISARIO at Algiers. A full meeting of the Ad hoc Committee was held on 23 June 1979. On 26 June, the Committee issued a communiqué stating that it had adopted certain recommendations of the sub-committee concerning the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara and the modalities of its exercise. The recommendations would be submitted to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its sixteenth ordinary session, to be held at Monrovia from 17 to 19 July. The Ad hoc Committee reiterated its appeal to all parties concerned immediately to observe a cease-fire until OAU had had an opportunity to consider the recommendations of the committee.

4. CONSIDERATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

17. By its resolution 33/31 A of 13 December 1978, adopted by 90 votes to 10 with

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39 abstentions, the General Assembly, inter alia reaffirmed its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara; requested the Special Committee to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review; requested the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved in the implementation of the relevant decisions of OAU; and invited the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. In the same resolution, the Assembly welcomed the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 June 1978 by the Frente POLISARIO with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara.

18. By resolution 33/31 B, adopted on the same date by 66 votes to 30 with 40 abstentions, the General Assembly, inter alia, taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU to establish an ad hoc committee of Heads of State (see para. 9 above), expressed its confidence that the committee would consider all data on the question with a view to convening an extraordinary summit meeting of OAU; invited OAU to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question; appealed to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of OAU to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem; requested the Administrative-Secretary-General of OAU to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the Ad hoc Committee; and invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon to the General Assembly.

19. The positions of Algeria, Spain and Morocco and the representative of the Frente POLISARIO were reflected in their statements in the Fourth Committee. d/ Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria also made statements during the general debate in the plenary meetings. e/

5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

20. On 10 July 1978, a change of government took place in Mauritania and President Moktar Ould Daddah was replaced by a Military Committee for National Redress, headed by Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek. Two days later, it was reported that the Frente POLISARIO had unilaterally declared a cease-fire as a good-will gesture towards the new Mauritanian Government, which had pledged itself to work

d/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session Fourth Committee, 24th meeting, paras. 32-49 (Algeria); ibid., 29th meeting, paras. 66-70, (Spain); ibid., paras. 82-91 (Morocco); ibid., 22nd meeting, paras. 78-93.

e/ Ibid., Plenary Meetings, 20th meeting (Morocco and Mauritania); ibid., 21st meeting (Algeria, Morocco); and ibid., 33rd and 34th meetings (Algeria, Morocco).

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for peace in the Sahara. Frente POLISARIO sources indicated that the purpose of the cease-fire was to allow the Mauritanian Government time to review its policies vis-à-vis that group.

21. The cease-fire led to several rounds of consultations and meetings at which various proposals for a solution to the problem were put forward without, however, achieving any result.

22. There have also been reports of direct meetings between representatives of Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO. On 10 October, Cheikna Ould Mohamed Laghdaf, then Minister for Foreign Affairs for Mauritania, confirmed earlier reports that low-level talks with the Frente POLISARIO had taken place in Paris from 9 to 16 September 1978. Further contacts were reported to have taken place on 17 and 18 October at Bamako in Mali. Some sources indicated that these contacts had been for the purpose of exchanging views and attempting to create conditions favourable to a global solution.

23. On 4 December, officials of the Frente POLISARIO reportedly accused Mauritania of "unilaterally and sine die" breaking off negotiations, and of failing to take concrete measures to achieve peace. According to reports, these accusations were rejected by Mauritania. A spokesman for Mauritania stated that Mauritania would continue its policy of dialogue; he emphasized, however, that there had only been preliminary contacts with the Frente POLISARIO.

24. Statements made in early January 1979 by Mr. Mustapha Ould Salek, then Mauritanian Head of State, indicated that if a global settlement remained impossible, Mauritania would be prepared to withdraw from the conflict and, if the Frente POLISARIO agreed, would favour organizing a referendum in the area of Western Sahara under his Government's control. On 15 January, the Frente POLISARIO was said to have rejected this plan.

25. There have also been attempts to bring about a general improvement of relations in the region. In February, press reports citing an official French source said that a meeting between King Hassan II of Morocco and President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria was "probable".

26. In February also, President Benjedid appealed to Mauritania to give new impetus to its peace talks with the Frente POLISARIO, which he said appeared to be stagnating. He reiterated that, within its means, Algeria was available to help in the achievement of a lasting peace.

27. Early in April, the Government of Mr. Ould Salek of Mauritania was replaced by a Military Committee of National Salvation and Colonel Ahmed Ould Bouceif, the former Minister of Fisheries, became Prime Minister. In an official military communiqué issued following this change, it was announced that the Government's main aims were a peaceful solution to the Saharan conflict and the promotion of economic recovery through "controlled liberalization".

28. On 26 April, reports originating in Tripoli indicated that an accord had been

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reached between Mauritania and Libya during a visit to Tripoli of Mr. Abdallah, the Mauritanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The accord reportedly included Mauritania's agreement to turn over its sector of Western Sahara to the Frente POLISARIO. A communiqué issued by Mauritania suggested, however, that it was maintaining its position that there should be a "dialogue with POLISARIO and all parties concerned in the Western Sahara conflict". Subsequently, in an interview with Agence France Presse on 30 April, Colonel Bouceif stated that there had never been any question of ceding the Mauritanian sector of Western Sahara to the Frente POLISARIO. He confirmed reports, however, that there had been renewed contacts between the Frente POLISARIO and his Government at Tripoli and Paris. In the meantime, the Frente POLISARIO announced that in the future it would negotiate with Mauritania only within "the framework of the Tripoli agreement".

29. When Mauritania did not send a delegation to Tripoli on 26 May for the purported purpose of signing a "peace agreement", a spokesman for the Frente POLISARIO is said to have accused Mauritania of not honouring its commitments. He subsequently stated that the Frente POLISARIO was not closing the door to negotiation. It was now studying with interest a proposal whereby the Governments of Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and representatives of the Frente POLISARIO would meet with Spain (the administering Power) to work out a plan for independence which would preserve the territorial integrity of Western Sahara.

30. In a letter dated 23 May 1979, addressed to the Secretary-General (A/34/276), the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Mauritania to the United Nations stated the position of his Government with respect to the question of Western Sahara, indicating, inter alia, that Mauritania was prepared to implement the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX): that it was prepared to study ways and means of achieving self-determination in the Sahara; that it remained in favour of the dialogue with the Frente POLISARIO with a view to achieving the practical implementation of the principle of self-determination; and that Mauritania was prepared to normalize its relations with Algeria.

31. Lieutenant Colonel Mohammed Khouna Ould Haidala, the new Prime Minister of Mauritania, reconfirmed this position in a speech on 5 June. Lieutenant Colonel Haidala was appointed to succeed Mr. Bouceif who had been killed in a plane crash on 27 May.

32. Since July 1978, the Moroccan Government has repeatedly stated on various occasions that it would not give up any of "its recovered Saharan provinces", nor would it agree to a mini-State under the Frente POLISARIO in Mauritania's sector of Western Sahara. In a speech in August 1978, King Hassan II stated that "any peace solution must not involve a threat to our territorial integrity; it must not lead to the insertion of a foreign State between Morocco and Mauritania".

33. On 4 January 1979, the King appointed Mr. Jalienna Uld Rachid, member of Parliament for El Aaiun and former President of the Unión Nacional Saharani (PUNS), as Secretary of State for Saharan Affairs, directly under the authority of the Prime Minister. King Hassan also named three new governors for the provinces of the Sahara.

34. On 28 January, the forces of the Frente POLISARIO attacked Tan-Tan. Subsequently, on 8 March, in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, King Hassan announced that since the situation in southern Morocco was "daily going from bad to worse", he had decided to set up a National Security Council consisting of representatives of all the organized political parties and to entrust it with the task of defining and implementing a policy aimed at safeguarding Morocco's national territory and State security. In response to the King's speech, the Chamber of Deputies unanimously recommended that the Moroccan army exercise "the right of hot pursuit" and take retaliatory measures every time that Moroccan soil was the object of "external military aggression". Following the King's speech, Mr. Boucetta, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that, in future, Morocco would consider "our Saharan affairs as a strictly internal matter".

35. As a result of the attack on Tan-Tan, Colonel Mohamed Abrog was appointed to deal with Western Saharan defence. Morocco has since adopted new measures to deal with the forces of the Frente POLISARIO, including the use of mobile units. It has also abandoned its policy of silence about the war and has begun to issue communiqués regarding armed clashes.

36. On 16 May, King Hassan is said to have reaffirmed that Morocco would never reverse its position on Western Sahara. He added, however, that his country would not prevent Mauritania from concluding a peace agreement on condition that the border between Morocco and Mauritania remained open. King Hassan also said that he was ready to meet with the Algerian President but that the Algerians had not responded to the initiative.

37. As regards Spain's position on Western Sahara, during his visit to Algeria in May 1979, Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez González was reported to have said that a just solution of the question of Western Sahara inevitably involved the self-determination of the Saharan people. A joint communiqué issued by Algeria and Spain at the end of the visit called for a "quick decolonization of Western Sahara". Previously, Spain's governing party, the Unión Centro Democrático (UCD) had decided to recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the only legitimate representative of the Saharan people. The decision was announced on 15 October 1978 in a joint communiqué following the participation of a delegation of UCD in the Fourth POLISARIO Congress.

A. Recent developments

Agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO

38. On 5 August 1979, news agencies reported that the Government of Mauritania had signed a peace agreement in Algiers with representatives of the Frente POLISARIO, under which Mauritania renounced all claims to the sector of Western Sahara under its control. In this accord, which was reported to have taken place after three days of negotiations and within a week of the renunciation of its claims to Western Sahara, Mauritania is said to have withdrawn definitely from what Mauritania called "the unjust war in the Western Sahara". Mauritania was also said to have referred to the Frente POLISARIO as "the representatives of the Saharan people". Further, the accord is reported to provide for "periodic meetings between the

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Frente POLISARIO and the Mauritanian Government to monitor its terms". According to news reports, the accord was signed by Mr. Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, the Second Vice-President of the Military Committee of National Salvation of Mauritania and Mr. Bachir Moustafa Sayed, Deputy Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO.

39. On 7 August, in a communiqué issued at Nouakchott, the Permanent Committee of the Military Committee of National Salvation of Mauritania endorsed the Algiers accord and declared its "gratification at the happy end of the efforts exerted by Mauritania for more than a year aiming at finding a just and definitive solution of the Western Sahara conflict".

40. The Permanent Committee described the accord as conforming "in every aspect to the aspirations and interests of the Mauritanian people", adding that it should lead to "the consolidation and reinforcement of the peace which is indispensable for the peoples and states of the Maghreb".

41. Morocco, on its part, is reported to have declared the agreement null and void and has vowed to continue to hold on to its zone (see paras. 32 and 36 above). Prior to the signing of the Algiers accord on 5 August, King Hassan was quoted as declaring that Mauritania had "no right to withdraw" from the Sahara, implying further action by Morocco if a Mauritanian withdrawal were to take place.

Decision of OAU

42. At its sixteenth ordinary session, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU adopted a decision on Western Sahara (AHG/DEC.114 (XVI)) by which it decided the following:

"1. The preparation of a proper atmosphere for peace in the area through a general and immediate cease-fire;

"2. The exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of Western Sahara in a general and free referendum which will enable them to choose one of the following options:

- (a) Total independence;
- (b) Maintenance of the status quo;

"3. The convening of a meeting of the parties concerned including the representative of Western Sahara to request their co-operation for the implementation of this decision;

"4. The establishment of a Special Committee of Five OAU member States composed of Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan and the United Republic of Tanzania to work out the modalities and to supervise the organization of a referendum with the co-operation of the United Nations on the basis of one person one vote. The Special Committee shall be chaired by Liberia, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity."

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6. MILITARY SITUATION

43. Press reports indicate that armed clashes have continued through the period under review.
44. In January 1979, the Frente POLISARIO claimed that it had intensified its attacks on Moroccan positions within the framework of the "Houari Boumediene" offensive. In its various communiqués it reported attacks on Moroccan positions at Amgala, Asatef, Bir-Enzaran, Bu Craa, Cabo Bojador, El Aaiún, El Farsia, El Garada, Guelta Zemmur, Hagunia, Hausa, J'Deiria, Lebtaina Talha, Lemseyed, Oum Dreiga, Semara, Terf Lemalga, Tifariti and Tiguiy in Western Sahara, and Assa, Abattih, Lebouirate, Ould Draa, Sken, Tan-Tan, Tarfaya and Zag in southern Morocco. Moroccan sources denied the capture of Tan-Tan, saying that the Frente POLISARIO had only inflicted "light damage" on the television/radio transmitter located there.
45. On 12 March, the Moroccan Minister of State for Information announced that his country's forces had taken the offensive and attacked the position of the Frente POLISARIO at Tiguiy and Ramth Al Lbane in Western Sahara, destroying their positions and inflicting heavy casualties.
46. Subsequently, on 6 May, the forces of the Frente POLISARIO claimed the capture and liberation on 29 April of the town of Amgala in the sector of Western Sahara occupied by Morocco. This claim was categorically denied by Moroccan sources.
47. In early June, following an attack by the forces of the Frente POLISARIO on the villages of Tarfaya and Assa in Morocco, King Hassan is said to have authorized Moroccan armed forces to pursue the attackers to their home bases, even if it entailed crossing the borders of neighbouring countries.
48. On 9 June, in a message addressed to the Chairman of OAU (A/34/308, annex), the President of Algeria called attention to the grave dangers threatening the Maghreb region as a result of Morocco's claim to the right of hot pursuit. The President reaffirmed that no intimidation could shake his country's convictions and stated its firm determination to oppose any infringement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Algeria. The Moroccan authorities, he continued, would be held responsible for the inevitable consequences of violation of Algeria's frontiers. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria reiterated this position in a message dated 13 June 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General (A/34/312, annex).
49. In a letter dated 13 June 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13394) the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations stated that during the night of 31 May/1 June 1979, a column of Moroccan Royal Armed Forces had been attacked between Tan-Tan and Tarfaya, within Moroccan territory. A further attack had occurred on 4 June at the town of Assa, also situated within Morocco. These attacks had been carried out and directed by forces whose point of departure was situated in Algerian territory. Morocco, he

said, would continue to exercise its inherent right of self-defence. The request of the representative of Morocco, on behalf of his Government, that a meeting of the Council be convened to consider this matter was reiterated in a subsequent letter to the President of the Security Council (S/13397) following an attack on the Moroccan town of Tan-Tan.

50. In a letter dated 16 June 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13399), the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria expressed his country's indignation at the attempt by Morocco to shift on to Algeria responsibility for the annexation policy of Morocco and accused that country of preparing an act of aggression against Algeria under cover of its alleged right of self-defence. He stated that any action which the Security Council might decide to take could only be within the framework laid down by the United Nations for expediting the solution of the question of Western Sahara.

51. The Security Council considered the question of Western Sahara at its 2151st to 2153rd meetings between 20 and 22 June. Statements were made by Morocco, the Frente POLISARIO, Benin, Democratic Yemen, Mauritania and Madagascar and Algeria. f/

52. Subsequently, in a letter dated 25 June, addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/13410), the Permanent Representative of Morocco requested the Security Council to suspend action on the complaint submitted to it in his Government's letters of 13 and 15 June (S/13394 and S/13397).

53. At its 2154th meeting, on 25 June 1979, the Security Council adjourned its consideration of the question.

7. ECONOMIC SITUATION

A. Phosphate industry g/

54. Early in 1979, it was reported that the Bu Craa mine operated by FOSBUCRAA had resumed production under heavy guard. The mine, closed since 1976, had originally been scheduled to resume operations in November 1978.

55. Mr. Larbi El-Omari, the director of FOSBUCRAA, said that four miles of conveyor belt destroyed by the Frente POLISARIO would have to be replaced. In addition, 2 of the 10 control stations along the belt had suffered severe damage to their sophisticated electrical machinery and 17 power pylons had been destroyed.

f/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2151st meeting (Morocco); 2152nd meeting (Frente POLISARIO, Benin, Democratic Yemen, Mauritania and Madagascar); and 2152nd meeting (Algeria).

g/ For further details, see Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, paras. 177-184.

56. In 1975, the last year of normal production by Bu Craa, the output of raw phosphate was an estimated 3.7 million metric tons. In the first few weeks of 1976, 894,080 metric tons were produced before damage to the electrical system brought mining to a halt.

57. The treatment plant at the port of El-Aaiún had remained in operation since 1976, although on a reduced schedule. It produced 182,880 metric tons of dry phosphate in 1976 and 203,200 metric tons in 1979 (2.8 million metric tons in 1975). As a consequence, exports which totalled 2.6 million metric tons of dry phosphate in 1975, fell to 281,432 metric tons in 1976 and 25,400 metric tons in 1977. There is no information concerning the source of the phosphates processed by the treatment plant since 1976.

58. Since the re-opening of the mine, bulldozers have been attempting to remove the phosphate stockpile which now exceeds 500,000 metric tons. Daily convoys of 30 trucks, escorted by heavily armed squadrons of armoured cars and helicopters, remove 1,016 metric tons a day, the same amount previously moved by the conveyor belt in 25 minutes. Mr. El-Omari has estimated that once the power line and conveyor belt are back in operation, the mine could export refined phosphate at an annual rate of 3 to 4 million metric tons, approximately 10 per cent of total world trade in this mineral.

B. Fishing

59. Figures supplied to the press by the Moroccan National Fisheries Office show that the potential annual sardine catch along the coast from Ifni to El Aaiún is 406,400 metric tons. The Office estimated that an additional 100,000 metric tons could be caught annually along the coast south of El Aaiún to Cabo Bojador.

C. Other

60. In the area of oil exploration, the Phillips Petroleum Company and the British Petroleum Company, Ltd. have been granted several off-shore permits covering 35,000 square kilometres off the coast of Western Sahara between El Aaiún and Cabo Bojador.

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WESTERN SAHARA

THE DESK OFFICER FOR MOROCCO IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY, RENE MOLINARI, DISCUSSED WITH US ON 8 AUGUST THE SITUATION FOLLOWING MAURITANIA'S PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA AND POLISARIO. HE SAID THAT, WHILE A MAURITANIAN-POLISARIO DISENGAGEMENT HAD CLEARLY BEEN IMPENDING SINCE THE JULY 1978 DECLARATION OF INTENT BY THE THEN-NEW MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT, THE SITUATION HAD MOVED VERY QUICKLY SINCE THE OAU SUMMIT AT MONROVIA THIS YEAR HAD ADOPTED ITS RESOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR WESTERN SAHARA. WITH THAT DECLARATION AND WITH THE MAURITANIAN POLISARIO DISENGAGEMENT, MOROCCO FOUND ITSELF INCREASINGLY ENCIRCLED.

2. THERE WERE, HE SAID, SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS TO DO WITH THE DISENGAGEMENT WHICH HAD NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED - THE MODALITIES OF THE DISENGAGEMENT WERE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND POLISARIO, AND THERE WAS THE QUESTION OF THE 8,000 TROOPS FROM MOROCCO STILL IN MAURITANIA (IF THE NUMBER WAS THAT HIGH, WHICH MOLANARI DOUBTED). 'LE MONDE REPORTS ON 10 AUGUST THAT MOROCCO HAS ANNOUNCED AN INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING 6,000 TROOPS FROM ++ MAURITANIA ++ WITHOUT MAKING CLEAR WHETHER THIS INCLUDES MOROCCAN TROOPS STATIONED IN THE FORMERLY MAURITANIAN - CONTROLLED PART OF WESTERN SAHARA. THIS TOGETHER WITH THE 1,500 PULLED OUT OF ZAIRE RECENTLY WITH THE DISBANDING OF THE FIVE NATION AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, WILL SOMEWHAT INCREASE MOROCCO'S MILITARY CAPABILITY AGAINST POLISARIO IN MOROCCO'S TWO THIRDS OF WESTERN SAHARA.

3. BUT THE MAIN UNKNOWN, AND THE MOST IMPORTANT, WAS MOROCCO'S LIKELY REACTION. MOLANARI'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT IT WOULD BE HARD FOR MOROCCO TO OPT FOR OTHER THAN A CONTINUATION OF ITS WAR WITH POLISARIO. DOMESTICALLY THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT ALL SECTORS OF

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OPINION SUPPORTED THE CONTINUATION OF MOROCCO'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS PORTION OF THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA, AND THUS OF THE WAR AGAINST THE POLISARIO GUERRILLAS. THE ONLY DIFFERENCES WERE OVER THE WAY IN WHICH TO PURSUE THE WAR, WITH THE KING UNDER SOME ATTACK BOTH FROM THE LEFTIST OPPOSITION AND FROM THE RIGHTIST ISTAQL ELEMENT WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. WHILE THE WAR WAS A CONTINUING SERIOUS STRAIN ON THE MOROCCAN ECONOMY, EVEN THE LEFTISTS DID NOT SUGGEST THAT IT SHOULD BE DROPPED FOR THIS REASON: RATHER THAT NEW POLICIES SHOULD BE ADOPTED THAT WOULD DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY BOTH WITH THE NEW ECONOMY AND THE WAR EFFORT. PROBABLY THE MOST LIKELY THREAT TO THE KING WOULD BE THE ARMY, IF IT BECAME DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS IN THE SAHARA WARFARE.

4. IN THIS SITUATION, MOLINARI CONSIDERED THAT MOROCCO WOULD FIND ITSELF INCREASINGLY ISOLATED IN INTERNATIONAL OPINION. ASKED ABOUT LIKELY CONSIDERATION AT THIS YEAR'S UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HE SAID THAT IT SEEMED ALMOST CERTAIN THAT ALGERIA WOULD EASILY BE ABLE TO SUCCEED IN HAVING A RESOLUTION ADOPTED ALONG THE LINES OF THE RECENT OAU TEXT, IN FAVOUR OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND THUS AGAINST THE MOROCCAN POSITION. ALGERIA NOW FOUND ITSELF IN AN ALMOST INVULNERABLE DIPLOMATIC/JURIDICAL POSITION: IT COULD DESCRIBE POLISARIO AS A LEGITIMATE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT TO WHICH ALGERIA WAS FULLY ENTITLED TO GIVE SUPPORT AND IT COULD STATE CONVINCINGLY THAT THE 1975 TRI-PARTITE AGREEMENT WAS NOW NULL AND VOID WITH THE WITHDRAWAL FROM IT OF ONE OF ITS THREE PARTNERS, MAURITANIA.

5. MOLANARI SAW A CONTINUATION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA WARFARE AS ALMOST INEVITABLE. IT WAS HARD TO SEE ANY COMPROMISE POSITION WHICH COULD SERIOUSLY ATTRACT EITHER POLISARIO OR THE MOROCCANS. IT WAS INTERESTING THAT THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE APPOINTED BY THE OAU LAST YEAR TO SEEK A SOLUTION, WHICH HAD SENT A DELEGATION OF TWO (MALI AND NIGERIA) TO MAURITANIA, ALGIERS AND RABAT EARLY THIS YEAR TO PUT FORWARD A SOLUTION, HAD APPARENTLY ELICITED SOME KIND OF COMPROMISE FROM MOROCCO TO THE EFFECT THAT A POLISARIO STATE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE IF IT HAD NO COMMON BORDER WITH MOROCCO, I.E. A POCKET OF POLISARIO TERRITORY SURROUNDED BY MAURITANIAN-CONTROLLED TERRITORY. BUT THIS WAS HARDLY REALISTIC. SIMILARLY POLISARIO SEEMED LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR THE WHOLE OF THE FORMER SPANISH TERRITORY. HE COULD NOT BE DRAWN INTO SAYING THAT IT WAS ALMOST CERTAIN OF EVENTUAL VICTORY.

6. THE ONLY OFFICIAL MOROCCAN COMMENT SO FAR HAS BEEN A STATEMENT ON 9 AUGUST BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOUCETTA THAT THE MAURITANIA-POLISARIO AGREEMENT IS NULL AND VOID. HE CRITICIZED THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE SIGNATORIES IN IGNORING THEIR BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS AND ATTEMPTING TO DICTATE THE FATE OF THEIR NEIGHBOURS. THE MOROCCAN PRESS IS CALLING FOR A QUICK

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

3-0. PA67604

MILITARY ACTION TO TAKE OVER THE MAURITANIAN SEGMENT OF WESTERN SAHARA. MOLINARI COMMENTED THAT MOROCCO IS ALREADY ENGAGING IN AN ENERGETIC CAMPAIGN OF DIPLOMACY TO PERSUADE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE JUSTICE OF ITS CAUSE. (LE MONDE OF 10 AUGUST REPORTS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF SENEGAL, FOLLOWING A CALL ON KING HASSAN IN RABAT, HAS SAID THAT MOROCCO CAN COUNT ON SENEGAL'S SUPPORT). THIS LED US TO ASK WHETHER MOROCCO WAS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO INCREASE ITS ACCESS TO AMERICAN AND OTHER ARMAMENTS. MOLINARI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS HAD CONSIDERED IN RECENT WEEKS THE QUESTION OF ASSISTING MOROCCO TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE SPECIFIC AMERICAN ARMAMENTS IT WANTS, BY MEANS OF MORE GENEROUS CREDIT ETC, BUT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES, LIKE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, REMAINED RELUCTANT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS TO BE INVOLVED IN THE SUPPLY OF ARMS WHICH WOULD BE USED IN THE SAHARAN WARFARE. HE SAID THAT MOROCCO WAS NOT AT PRESENT SEEKING TO BUY FRENCH ARMS: IF IT WERE IT WOULD BE AS ELIGIBLE TO BUY THEM AS ANY OTHER COUNTRY, INCLUDING ALGERIA, THOUGH THE QUESTION OF CAPACITY TO PAY FOR THEM WOULD NATURALLY HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

7. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH THE HEAD OF THE AFRICAN AND MALAGASY AFFAIRS BRANCH OF THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY (GUEGINOU) ON 8 AUGUST WE LEARNT THAT HIS DIVISION HEAD (GEORGY) HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A BRIEF VISIT FROM MAURITANIA (MAURITANIA IS INCLUDED IN THE AFRICAN, RATHER THAN THE MAGHREB BRANCH OF THE MINISTRY) GUEGINOU COULD NOT BE DRAWN MUCH ON THE PURPOSE OF THIS VISIT, BUT IT HAD BEEN TO DO WITH THE 'SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES' WHICH FRANCE HAS TAKEN ON FOR THE DEFENCE OF MAURITANIA, INCLUDING ITS ON-THE-GROUND TRAINING ROLE WITH THE MAURITANIAN AIR FORCE.

8. MOLINARI WAS EMPHATIC THAT FRANCE SAW NO ROLE FOR ITSELF IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE PURSUIT OF A WESTERN SAHARA SOLUTION, THOUGH IT WOULD BE ALL IN FAVOUR OF ANY SOLUTION THAT WAS REACHED WITH THE AGREEMENT OF ALL OF THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN NO PUBLIC POSITION ON THE RECENT MAURITANIAN POLISARIO AGREEMENT. PRESIDENT MOUSSA TRAORE OF MALI CALLED ON PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTANG ON 8 AUGUST, IN HIS ROLE AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU SUB-GROUP ON WESTERN SAHARA, TO DISCUSS THE AGREEMENT. HE COMMENTED TO THE PRESS THAT IT PERMITS POLISARIO 'TO OCCUPY ITS TERRITORY'.

++ AMENDMENT

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

4-0.PA67604

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION: AME
DDO

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WESTERN SAHARA

THE DESK OFFICER FOR MOROCCO IN THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY, RENE MOLINARI, DISCUSSED WITH US ON 8 AUGUST THE SITUATION FOLLOWING MAURITANIA'S PEACE AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA AND POLISARIO. HE SAID THAT, WHILE A MAURITANIAN-POLISARIO DISENGAGEMENT HAD CLEARLY BEEN IMPENDING SINCE THE JULY 1978 DECLARATION OF INTENT BY THE THEN-NEW MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT, THE SITUATION HAD MOVED VERY QUICKLY SINCE THE OAU SUMMIT AT MONROVIA THIS YEAR HAD ADOPTED ITS RESOLUTION IN FAVOUR OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR WESTERN SAHARA. WITH THAT DECLARATION AND WITH THE MAURITANIAN POLISARIO DISENGAGEMENT, MOROCCO FOUND ITSELF INCREASINGLY ENCIRCLED.

2. THERE WERE, HE SAID, SOME PRACTICAL PROBLEMS TO DO WITH THE DISENGAGEMENT WHICH HAD NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED - THE MODALITIES OF THE DISENGAGEMENT WERE STILL UNDER DISCUSSION BETWEEN MAURITANIA AND POLISARIO, AND THERE WAS THE QUESTION OF THE 8,000 TROOPS FROM MOROCCO STILL IN MAURITANIA (IF THE NUMBER WAS THAT HIGH, WHICH MOLANARI DOUBTED). 'LE MONDE REPORTS ON 10 AUGUST THAT MOROCCO HAS ANNOUNCED AN INTENTION OF WITHDRAWING 6,000 TROOPS FROM MOROCCO, WITHOUT MAKING CLEAR WHETHER THIS INCLUDES MOROCCAN TROOPS STATIONED IN THE FORMERLY MAURITANIAN - CONTROLLED PART OF WESTERN SAHARA. THIS TOGETHER WITH THE 1,500 PULLED OUT OF ZAIRE RECENTLY WITH THE DISBANDING OF THE FIVE NATION AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, WILL SOMEWHAT INCREASE MOROCCO'S MILITARY CAPABILITY AGAINST POLISARIO IN MOROCCO'S TWO THIRDS OF WESTERN SAHARA.

3. BUT THE MAIN UNKNOWN, AND THE MOST IMPORTANT, WAS MOROCCO'S LIKELY REACTION. MOLANARI'S ASSESSMENT WAS THAT IT WOULD BE HARD FOR MOROCCO TO OPT FOR OTHER THAN A CONTINUATION OF ITS WAR WITH POLISARIO. DOMESTICALLY THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT ALL SECTORS OF OPINION SUPPORTED THE CONTINUATION OF MOROCCO'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ITS PORTION OF THE FORMER SPANISH SAHARA, AND THUS OF THE WAR AGAINST THE POLISARIO GUERRILLAS. THE ONLY DIFFERENCES WERE

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OVER THE WAY IN WHICH TO PURSUE THE WAR, WITH THE KING UNDER SOME ATTACK BOTH FROM THE LEFTIST OPPOSITION AND FROM THE RIGHTIST ISTAQL ELEMENT WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. WHILE THE WAR WAS A CONTINUING SERIOUS STRAIN ON THE MOROCCAN ECONOMY, EVEN THE LEFTISTS DID NOT SUGGEST THAT IT SHOULD BE DROPPED FOR THIS REASON: RATHER THAT NEW POLICIES SHOULD BE ADOPTED THAT WOULD DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY BOTH WITH THE NEW ECONOMY AND THE WAR EFFORT. PROBABLY THE MOST LIKELY THREAT TO THE KING WOULD BE THE ARMY, IF IT BECAME DISSATISFIED WITH PROGRESS IN THE SAHARA WARFARE.

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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THE JUSTICE OF ITS CAUSE. (LE MONDE OF 10 AUGUST REPORTS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF SENEGAL, FOLLOWING A CALL ON KING HASSAN IN RABAT, HAS SAID THAT MOROCCO CAN COUNT OF SENEGAL'S SUPPORT). THIS LED US TO ASK WHETHER MOROCCO WAS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO INCREASE ITS ACCESS TO AMERICAN AND OTHER ARMAMENTS. MOLINARI SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS HAD CONSIDERED IN RECENT WEEKS THE QUESTION OF ASSISTING MOROCCO TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE SPECIFIC AMERICAN ARMAMENTS IT WANTS, BY MEANS OF MORE GENEROUS CREDIT ETC, BUT HIS UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES, LIKE OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, REMAINED RELUCTANT FOR OBVIOUS REASONS TO BE INVOLVED IN THE SUPPLY OF ARMS WHICH WOULD BE USED IN THE SAHARAN WARFARE. HE SAID THAT MOROCCO WAS NOT AT PRESENT SEEKING TO BUY FRENCH ARMS: IF IT WERE IT WOULD BE AS ELIGIBLE TO BUY THEM AS ANY OTHER COUNTRY, INCLUDING ALGERIA, THOUGH THE QUESTION OF CAPACITY TO PAY FOR THEM WOULD NATURALLY HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

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ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

4-0.PA67604

ACTION: AME

JAE

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S	DIR-ADAB			

CAIRO

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CENTRAL REGISTRY

(F) 935/28/2

DATE 7 August 19 79

INFORMATION

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QUOTE

M. AL 885

REGISTRY
CODE

Australian Embassy, Paris

TO. CANBERRA

Australian Mission, New York

REF. M.

TO FILE.

FM.

ALGIERS

CLASSIFICATION. UNCLASSIFIED

FM. FILE

862/98/1

POST
SEQUENCE
NUMBER

565

SUBJECT. WESTERN SAHARA - MAURETANIAN-POLISARIO AGREEMENT

El Moudjahid - the French-language daily - carried, on 6 August, a front page story announcing the signing of an agreement between Mauritania and the Polisario Front on 5 August, following three days of negotiations in Algiers. A copy of our translation of the agreement is attached (the lay-out and punctuation being as in the original). Basically, the agreement includes Mauritania's willingness to withdraw from the war and establish peace with Polisario, and Mauritania's renunciation of all claims on that part of the Western Sahara which it has administered since 1976. While the second point is put as immediately effective, the first will require extra agreements: this may reflect Mauritania's powerlessness, as much as anything else.

2. The signing of this "peace treaty", as it is being described, is the culmination of a series of high-level talks held over the past few months between Algerian and Mauretanian delegations. It represents a considerable tactical victory for Algeria as well as for the Polisario Front. It might be noted that while the original announcement of the commencement of these negotiations said that they were to be between Mauritania and the so-called Democratic Arab Saharan Republic, the agreement is specified as being between Mauritania and the Polisario Front, although the agreement clearly recognizes Polisario as being "the representatives of the Saharan people". While the signing of such an agreement was predictable following Mauritania's vote in favour of the self-determination resolution at the OAU Monrovia Summit last month and its subsequent statements (our BB O.AL3232 refers), still the speed with which it was achieved is somewhat surprising.

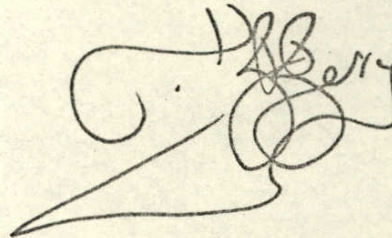
3. Agence France Presse of 6 August reported a degree of bitterness in Rabat, not simply over the agreement, but because of suspicion that the Mauritanian Foreign Minister's visit to Paris the previous week had been to notify France of Mauritania's intention while no such mission had been sent to notify King Hassa

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ENCLOSURE

AFP also noted that the agreement puts Morocco "up against the wall". We have not, however, seen any official Moroccan reaction to date.

4. Earlier Moroccan reactions to Mauritania's support of the OAU self-determination resolution, and its declared intention of withdrawing from the conflict, were predictably threatening. Foreign Minister Boucetta said that Morocco would exercise a claimed "right of pre-emption" of Mauritania's rights in the southern portion of the Western Sahara should Mauritania decide to withdraw from the territory. King Hassan, in a reportedly impromptu speech in Rabat's Grand Mosque on 2 August, tacitly supported his Foreign Minister, saying inter alia that in case Mauritania "feigns ignorance of international agreements between the two countries (i.e. with Morocco), Morocco will have to assume its unique, vital and obligatory responsibility to defend its everlastingness (sic)" - i.e. Morocco's claim to have always had sovereignty over the whole territory. It remains to be seen, however, how far Morocco will be prepared to go in defending its claimed rights now that Mauritania has firmly committed itself to withdrawal.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'K. Berry', with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the bottom left.

(K. Berry)
Second Secretary

On 3, 4 and 5 August 1979, a Mauritanian delegation, led by Lt. Col. Salem Ould Sidi, Second Vice-President of the Military Committee of National Safety and Minister in charge of the operation of the Committee, and comprising Lt. Col. Ahmed Ould Abdallah, member of the MCNS and Chief of Staff of the Army, and a Saharan delegation led by Bachir Mustapha Sayed, Assistant Secretary General of the Polisario Front, member of the Executive Committee commanding the revolution, and comprising Mohamed Salem Ould Saleck, Minister of Information, member of the Political Bureau of the Polisario Front and of the National Saharan Council, and Mahmoud Ould Abdelfattah, Officer in Charge of the European Department of the Polisario Front, met in Algiers, the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

After negotiations, the two parties have agreed on the following:

- Considering the attachment of the two parties, Mauritanian and Saharan, to the scrupulous respect for the principles of the Charters of the OAU and the UNO in relation to the rights of peoples to determine their own future and to the immutability of frontiers inherited from the colonial period,

- Considering the sincere desire of the two parties to install a just and definitive peace, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Polisario Front, in conformity with the principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and good neighbourliness,

- Considering the imperative necessity for the two parties to find a comprehensive and definitive solution to the conflict, guaranteeing to the Saharan people their full national rights and peace and stability to the region,

- (a) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania solemnly declares that it does not and will not have any territorial or other claims to the Western Sahara.
- (b) The Islamic Republic of Mauritania decides to withdraw definitively from the unjust war in the Western Sahara, following modalities decided by mutual agreement with the representatives of the Saharan people, the Polisario Front.

- The Polisario Front solemnly declares that it does not and will not have any territorial claims on Mauritania.

The Polisario Front, in the name of the Saharan people, and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania decide, by the present agreement, to sign between them a definitive peace. The two parties have decided on the holding of periodic meetings between them with a view to supervising the execution of the modalities referred to in paragraph (a). (sic)

The two parties will transmit this agreement immediately after its signature to the current President of the OAU, to the members of the (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee, to the Secretaries-General of the OUA and the UNO, as well as to the current President of the Non-Aligned Movement.

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE : MOROCCAN STATEMENT

'LE MONDE' OF 4 AUGUST REPORTS AN 'IMPROMPTU' SPEECH ON 2 AUGUST BY KING HASSAN IN RABATA IN WHICH HE SHARPLY CRITICISED MAURITANIA'S CURRENT MOVES TO DISENGAGE ITSELF FROM THE WESTERN SAHARA ON THE GROUNDS THAT MAURITANIA HAD OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, IN ACCORDANCE WITH BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS TO WHICH IT WAS A PARTY, TO CONTINUE ITS ADMINISTRATION OF ITS PORTION OF FORMER SPANISH SAHARA.

2. HE REPORTEDLY CONTINUED (OUR TRANSLATIONS): 'IF MAURITANIA WERE TO PRETEND NOT TO KNOW ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS EXISTING BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, MOROCCO WOULD BE OBLIGED TO TAKE ON ALONE THE INESCAPABLE AND FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEND ITS OWN CONTINUED EXISTENCE'.

COMMENT

4. MOROCCO IS FINDING ITSELF INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF MAURITANIA'S REVIVED DETERMINATION TO SHAKE OFF ITS EXPENSIVE AND INEFFECTIVE FIGHT WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT. HASSAN'S STATEMENT IS NOT ESPECIALLY BELLIGERENT BUT IT MAKES IT CLEAR THAT MOROCCO HAS NO INTENTION OF WEAKENING IN ITS DETERMINATION TO RETAIN ITS HOLD IN WESTERN SAHARA.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ACTION: AME

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)		IO	FAS(PCR)
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)		FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M
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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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② F 935728/2

DATE. 2 August 1979

INFORMATION.

CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.F.A. IN REPLY
QUOTE

M. NA1829

REGISTRY
CODE

Algiers (with attachments)

New York UN no TO.

Madrid - attachments REF.

Canberra - DFA

M.

TO FILE.

INWARDS FM.

NAIROBI

CLASSIFICATION.

Restricted

FM. FILE.

235/1

POST
SEQUENCE
NUMBER

1290

SUBJECT.

WESTERN SAHARA

*the Smith UNP should see them
for his UN brief on W. Sahara d. 8/8*

The decision taken by the OAU to call for an act of self-determination in the Western Sahara is unlikely, as we noted in our cabled reporting, to achieve the objective of stopping the fighting in the region. Morocco's refusal to acknowledge the authority of the OAU in the situation guarantees that the war between it and Polisario will continue for the present at least.

2. The decision by the Summit to commit the OAU to an act of self-determination in the Sahara is the culmination of a long process of deliberation, during which the natural tendency of the OAU to avoid a final decision was encouraged by Morocco and, until recently, Mauritania. Following the decision of the Khartoum Summit that a Committee of Wise Men should examine the situation and report back to the Heads of State in Monrovia, there existed little scope for further procrastination. The OAU could either accept the recommendations of the Committee or reject them. The recommendations centred on a call for an act of self-determination: that call effectively rejected the Moroccan claims that such an act had already been carried out. A copy of the report of the ad hoc committee, with its recommendations, is attached to this memo. As it was acquired unofficially and is not supposed to be available other than to OAU members, we should prefer that no reference be made directly to it in any discussions with OAU member states.

3. Although Morocco must have realised that its task was futile, it did make a statement putting its case, before withdrawing from the Summit. We touched briefly on the Moroccan arguments in our cabled reporting. In greater detail, the points made by Morocco were:

- (i) The absorption of the Western Sahara by Morocco was an act of decolonisation.
- (ii) If the concept of a separate Saharan people were accepted, there would need to be acts of self-determination held right across Africa to the Red Sea.
- (iii) The Western Sahara resulted from the dismembering of Morocco by Spain and France.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

- (iv) The present problem resulted exclusively from Algerian ambition aimed at achieving hegemony in the region.
- (v) POLISARIO never existed during the colonial period and was a post-independence fabrication of Algeria and Libya..
- (vi) An act of self-determination had been carried out through the Djemaa.
4. Having thus made its case, Morocco then withdrew from the conference. One of their delegation later told us that Morocco regarded the further deliberations of the Summit as of no relevance to it.
5. Mauritania's role in the debate was negligible. Having been attacked by Polisario shortly before the Summit commenced, some reversal of its moves towards an accommodation with Algeria might have been expected. However its position remained that, in the absence of a complete solution, it would be happy to see an act of self-determination in the area under its control. Mauritania's clear interest is to extricate itself as quickly and as easily as possible; it tried to portray the dispute as one between Algeria and Morocco, into which it had been unwillingly dragged.
6. Algeria, recognising that it held most of the cards, expressed itself ready to abide by the OAU's ruling. President Chadli, obviously disappointed at the absence of King Hassan, simply restated Algeria's case that important OAU principles were involved and that self-determination was a right to be enjoyed by all former colonial territories.
7. Adoption of the OAU's line of action proceeded in two stages - the adoption of the report of the ad hoc committee and the passing of a resolution, proposed by Mali, adopting the Committee's recommendations. Senegal, Gabon, Zaire and Comoros opposed the first stage; the first two then absented themselves for the vote on the resolution, leaving the latter pair to express their reservations. A copy of the resolution is also attached to this memo.
8. Whether the meeting called for in the resolution will ever take place is doubtful; Morocco's isolation has led it simply to reject the OAU's right to become involved in the matter and Morocco is unlikely to attend an OAU sponsored conference. While Morocco's isolation and consequent pressure on it may in time lead it to modify its position, the short-term prospects are for the war to continue.

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see memo
Gic 10/1/1



(Peter Zoller)
Second Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM 935/28/2

O.PA67339 MJWO
TOR 0307 03.08.79

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TO.
RR CANBERRA/6529 ALGIERS/491
FM. PARIS EMB / FILE 226/3/7

R E S T R I C T E D

WESTERN SAHARA : MAURITANIAN COMMENT

'LE MONDE' IN ITS 3 AUGUST EDITION REPORTS BRIEFLY ON THE DISCUSSION ON 1 AUGUST BETWEEN PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING AND THE MAURITANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, MR AHMADOU OULD ABDALLAH AND ON A SUBSEQUENT INTERVIEW GIVEN BY MR AHMADOU TO 'LE MONDE'. AHMADOU'S MAIN POINTS WERE THAT MAURITANIA, UNDER THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, SUPPORTED SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE SAHARAN PEOPLE, THAT DIALOGUE WAS NECESSARY WITH THE POLISARIO FRONT ON WAYS OF IMPLEMENTING THIS RIGHT, AND THAT MAURITANIA WISHED TO RENEW DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA. THESE POINTS REFLECTED A STATEMENT ON 1 AUGUST BY THE MAURITANIAN PRIME MINISTER, MR HAYDALLAH.

2. AT THE SAME TIME MR ABDALLAH WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT ANY EARLY RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE. HE SAID THAT APART FROM MAURITANIA NONE OF THE PARTIES WAS WILLING TO IMPLEMENT THE RELEVANT UN AND OAU RESOLUTIONS, AND HE DEPLORED THE 'THREATENING AND CLUMSY' POSITION CURRENTLY BEING TAKEN BY MOROCCO ABOUT WHAT IT WOULD DO IF MAURITANIA ABANDONED ITS PART OF THE DISPUTED TERRITORY.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0. PA67339

ACTION: AME

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)		EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)		IO	FAS(PCR)
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)		FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M
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CAIRO

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INWARD BB MESSAGE

O.AL3232 1200 1.8.79 CLA

TO.

BB CANBERRA/188 PARIS EMB/165 NEW YORK UN/87
BB CAIRO/80

FM. ALGIERS / FILE 801/2

R E S T R I C T E D

ALGIERS: MONTHLY SAVINGRAM FOR JULY 1979

On 5 July, the seventeenth anniversary of Independence, a terse statement made through the official media announced the "lifting of measures concerning" the first President of independent Algeria, Ahmed Ben Bella. His release from close house arrest, however, has not been unconditional. For the moment, he is confined to the Wilaya of M'sila, and has a house in the principal town of the same name, some 300 km south east of Algiers. The local media have subsequently ignored him, and the international media has been unable to obtain an interview. Although it had been suspected that the late President Boumediene intended to release Ben Bella himself, the release of other major political opponents earlier this year, culminating in that of Ben Bella, have been taken to indicate that President Chadli feels confident of his control over the country.

2. July saw a continuation of high level visits to Algiers, associated with both the OAU Summit at Monrovia and the forthcoming Non-Aligned Summit in Havana. There were visits by Presidents Seyni Kountche of Niger (3 July), Assad of Syria (3 - 6 July), Nyerere of Tanzania (13 - 15 July) and Siad Barre of Somalia (22 - 24) (following the Monrovia Summit). It was President Nyerere's first visit to Algeria: like some others (e.g. President Sekou Toure of Guinea), he had refused to come while Mr Ben Bella was still in custody. President Barre's visit was very coolly handled, with no communique and little of the usual fanfare about brotherhood and solidarity. Other visitors included a Vice-President of Cuba, and the Foreign Ministers of Hungary and Burundi. Sam Nujoma, President of S.W.A.P.O., paid a brief visit on 4 July to inform Algerian officials of recent developments in Namibia.

3. The 33rd Session of the OAU Ministerial Council opened in Monrovia on 6 July, the item of major interest to Algeria being the tabling of the Report of the "Committee of Wise Men" the Presidents of Sudan, (chairman), Guinea, Mali, Nigeria and Tanzania, (Ivory Coast having apparently withdrawn). Their Report upheld the principle of the right of self-determination of the Saharan people and recommended that a referendum be held in the territory: support by Nigeria and Sudan for such a decision is a striking development. The adoption of this Report on 20 July by the 16th OAU Summit was barely achieved with the necessary two-thirds majority, with Ivory Coast and Mauretania supporting it: but the procedure used in counting the votes was questionable.

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INWARD BB MESSAGE

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The issue proved a divisive one, characterized by a walk-out by the Gabonese, Moroccan and Senegalese delegations; and the Moroccan delegation, led by Foreign Minister Boucetta, subsequently left Monrovia. Whatever the procedural issues involved, the vote nonetheless represented a blow to King Hassan who, perhaps wisely, had decided not to attend the Summit. President Chadli, however, was present as Leader of the Algerian Delegation, to see the blow struck. Following the vote, a new ad hoc committee with the same composition of that of "the Wise Men" (plus President Tolbert of Liberia as Chairman) was set up to arrange the modalities for the holding of a referendum and report to a special Summit next year.

4. As to the conflict itself, July saw an escalation in Polisario attacks both in the territory and - embarrassingly for Morocco - in the south of Morocco itself, with heavy losses in Moroccan men and material claimed. In a move no doubt designed to highlight the conflict for the benefit of OAU leaders, Polisario broke off the cease-fire it had unilaterally adopted with regard to Mauretania in July last year after the fall of former Mauretanian President Ould Dadda, and made a very successful attack on Tichla, a town in the Mauretanian occupied sector of the Western Sahara. The timing of this move caused surprise, and a lot of speculation of disagreement between Algeria and Polisario, and among the Polisario leaders - both probably correct. However, it did not stop the new Mauretanian leadership proceeding cautiously towards their part of the conflict - and may even have helped stimulate this. On 31 July, the Mauretanian Prime Minister announced that Mauretania had no territorial claims on the territory and was merely maintaining a caretaker administration there until an act of self-determination by its people could be carried out. Rabat reacted at once with indignation, and a threat to take over the Mauretanian sector (where they have troops), thus creating a very delicate situation.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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TO.
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RP.
RR PARIS EMB/194 MADRID/08 UN NEW YORK/436
RR LONDON/669 WASHINGTON/323 ALGIERS/17
RR CAIRO/196 DAR ES SALAAM/540 LAGOS/387
RR ACCRA/180

FM. NAIROBI /

C O N F I D E N T I A L

OAU: OTHER MAIN RESULTS

THIS CABLE SUMMARISES MAIN RESULTS OF OAU SUMMIT BEYOND
THOSE OF RELEVANCE TO CHOGM ON WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED.

MIDDLE EAST (UNDERLINE TWO)

2. IT APPEARS THAT AT NO STAGE IN CLOSED DEBATE WAS QUESTION OF EGYPT'S EXPULSION FROM OAU RAISED, THOSE WISHING IT HAVING PROBABLY LEARNED FROM EXPERIENCE OF COLOMBO. SPEECHES OF WHICH WE OBTAINED DETAILS (INCLUDING P.L.O.) WERE RELATIVELY MILD, CONCENTRATING THEIR ATTACK ON ISRAEL AND ON LIMITED NATURE OF TREATY. HOWEVER, DISCUSSION ON DETAILED POINTS OF DRAFTING WAS LONG AND OFTEN ACRIMONIOUS. BOTH EGYPT AND HER OPPONENTS SOUGHT TO INCREASE BLACK AFRICAN INTEREST IN THE DEBATE BY EMPHASISING RELEVANCE TO AFRICA. EGYPT POINTED OUT THAT TREATY HAD ENABLED LIBERATION OF AFRICAN TERRITORY, WHILE OTHERS CLAIMED TREATY WAS INCONSISTANT WITH OAU PRINCIPLES AND EFFECTIVELY MEANT ALLIANCE WITH A COUNTRY WHICH COLLABORATES CLOSELY WITH SOUTH AFRICA. BOTH EGYPT AND OPPONENTS (LED BY ALGERIA AND LIBYA, WITH AFRICAN SUPPORT COMING FROM MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, CONGO AND BENIN) CIRCULATED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS. THEY HAD MUCH IN COMMON, STRESSING LIMITED NATURE OF TREATY, INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS AND CONTINUED ISRAELI AGGRESSION. ALTHOUGH ARAB DRAFT DID NOT CONDEMN EGYPT BY NAME, IT DESCRIBED THE 'PARTIAL AGREEMENTS AND SEPARATE TREATY WHICH HAVE LATELY BEEN SIGNED' AS CONSTITUTING 'FLAGRANT VIOLATIONS TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE U.N. AND OAU CHARTERS...' ALTHOUGH FINAL OUTCOME WAS BASED LARGELY ON THIS DRAFT, TERMINOLOGY WAS MUCH Milder: INSTEAD OF THE TREATY CONSTITUTING A 'FLAGRANT VIOLATION' IT MERELY 'CONTRAVENES'. SUMMIT MADE ONE SIGNIFICANT CHANGE TO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 6 HAD READ: 'CONDEMNS THE PARTIAL AGREEMENTS AND SEPARATE TREATIES WHICH VIOLATE THE RECOGNISED RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND

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Mr Spinks
Ms Morton

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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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CONTRADICT THE PRINCIPLES OF JUST COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AND PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST PEACE IN THE AREA... LED BY NIGERIA, SUPPORTERS OF EGYPT FORCED CHANGE OF SECOND WORD TO 'ALL' WHICH, ACCORDING TO EGYPTIANS TO WHOM WE SPOKE, LETS EVERYONE DRAW THEIR OWN CONCLUSIONS ABOUT WHETHER THE PARAGRAPH REFERS TO EGYPT'S TREATY. (WE UNDERSTAND SIMILAR FORMULA WAS USED IN COLOMBO).

3. QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL WAS NOT CONSIDERED: EGYPT EXPLICITLY SAID IT DID NOT EXPECT OAU MEMBERS TO MAKE SUCH A MOVE AT THIS TIME AND OFFICIAL OAU LINE IS THAT MEMBERS WERE CALLED ON TO SEVER RELATIONS NOT JUST FOR MIDDLE EAST POSITION BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF ZIONIST COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

4. SADAT'S SPEECH PROMPTED EXPECTED WALK-OUT BY MOST ARABS AND SOME RADICAL AFRICANS (MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, MADAGASCAR, BENIN, CONGO). SUDAN AND SOMALIA DEMONSTRATED THEIR EQUIVOCAL POSITIONS WITH PARTIAL WALK-OUTS.

5. FURTHER COMMENT AND TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS AND OTHER RELEVANT DOCUMENTS BY BAG.

WESTERN SAHARA (UNDERLINE TWO)

6. MOROCCO'S ISOLATION WAS CLEAR FROM EARLY STAGES AND ADOPTION OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF AD HOC COMMITTEE, INCLUDING CALL FOR ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, BY SUMMIT WAS VIRTUALLY ASSURED. AFTER MAKING SPEECH DEFENDING ITS POSITION, IN WHICH INTER ALIA IT CLAIMED THAT ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD ALREADY BEEN CARRIED OUT THROUGH DJEMAA, THAT ABSORPTION OF SAHARA WAS ACT OF DECOLONISATION GIVEN HISTORIC MOROCCAN CLAIMS TO THE REGION, AND THAT POLISARIO DID NOT REPRESENT SAHAROUI PEOPLE BUT RATHER ALGERIAN INTERESTS. MOROCCO WITHDREW FROM SUMMIT. DELEGATION LATER SAID ANY DECISION MADE BY SUMMIT WOULD THEREFORE NOT BE RELEVANT TO MOROCCO. REPORT OF AD HOC COMMITTEE WAS ADOPTED, WITH MAIN OPPOSITION COMING FROM SENEGAL, GABON, ZAIRE AND COMOROS. SUMMIT THEN ADOPTED RESOLUTION CALLING FOR AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND ESTABLISHING A COMMITTEE CHAIRED BY LIBERIA TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ARRANGING A MEETING OF INTERESTED PARTIES, DISCUSSING THE MODALITIES OF SELF-DETERMINATION, AND REPORTING BACK TO AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT TO BE HELD IN 1980.

7. GIVEN MOROCCO'S ATTITUDE TO OAU INVOLVEMENT IN THE SITUATION, THIS MOVE IS UNLIKELY TO ACHIEVE OAU OBJECTIVE WHICH IS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO QUESTION OF SAHARA IN PLACE OF PRESENT ARMED STRUGGLE. WE SHALL FORWARD FURTHER COMMENT AND DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING COPY OF AD HOC COMMITTEE REPORT, BY BAG.

ISLAND TERRITORIES (UNDERLINE TWO)

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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8. SINCE LIBERATION COMMITTEE HAD PAID LITTLE ATTENTION TO CANARIES, REUNION AND MAYOTTE, MONROVIA MEETING HAD LITTLE ON WHICH TO BASE FURTHER ACTION. LIBERATION COMMITTEE SIMPLY NOTED THAT CANARIES REMAINED UNDER ATTENTION OF SECRETARY-GENERAL, AND MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MERELY TOOK NOTE OF THAT. SIMILARLY, ON REUNION, LIBERATION COMMITTEE SIMPLY NOTED THAT RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH AN AD HOC COMMITTEE. ON MAYOTTE, OAU WAS CONTENT TO NOTE THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN COMOROS AND FRANCE ARE CONTINUING. COPY OF LIBERATION COMMITTEE REPORT AND OTHER RELEVANT DOCUMENTS BY BAG.

PAN-AFRICAN FORCE (UNDERLINE THREE)

9. COUNCIL TOOK NOTE OF VARIOUS REPORTS EMANATING FROM MEETING OF DEFENCE COMMISSION IN ADDIS ABABA IN APRIL, WITHOUT GOING GREATLY INTO DETAILS. THESE INCLUDED BASIC RECOMMENDATION THAT AN 'OAU DEFENCE FORCE' BE ESTABLISHED. COUNCIL HOWEVER DECIDED TO RECOMMEND THE REPORTS TO THE SUMMIT ONLY AS A 'PROGRESS REPORT' PENDING FURTHER STUDY BY 'LEGAL AND FINANCIAL EXPERTS'. ONLY REAL PRACTICAL STEP WAS TO OPT FOR CONCEPT OF AN AD HOC FORCE, TO BE DRAWN FROM INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY'S UNITS AND COMPOSED IN RESPONSE OF GIVEN SITUATION, RATHER THAN PERMANENT FORCE. IN DEBATE, SEVERAL COUNTRIES RAISED QUESTIONS OF FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL NATURE, BUT ANSWERS WERE NOT DELIBERATED. ALTHOUGH SUBDUED, SHADES OF KHARTOUM'S RADICAL-MODERATE STAND-OFF RESURFACED WITH FRANCOPHONES QUESTIONING EXISTENCE OF 'POLITICAL WILL' FOR A CONTINENT-WIDE FORCE AND SERVING NOTICE THAT THEY WOULD AGAIN FORM REGIONAL AD HOC FORCES, AS IN SHABA, IF REQUIRED.

10. CLEARLY, MAJOR QUESTIONS - FINANCE, TERMS OF REFERENCE, CHAIN OF COMMAND ETC. - HAVE AGAIN BEEN AVOIDED AND REALITY OF FORCE REMAINS A LONG WAY OFF. RELEVANT DOCUMENTS WILL BE FORWARDED BY BAG.

DISPUTES (UNDERLINE ONE)

11. UNLIKE KHARTOUM, WHERE THE CONCEPT OF AFRICA SOLVING ITS OWN PROBLEMS MADE STRONG EFFORTS TO SOLVE EXISTING DISPUTES ESSENTIAL THERE WAS LITTLE OR NO ATTEMPT TO SEEK NEW INITIATIVES WITH RESPECT TO ETHIOPIA'S DISPUTES WITH SOMALIA AND SUDAN. IN BOTH CASES, THE INEFFECTUAL REPORTS OF THE AD HOC MEDIATION COMMITTEES WERE MERELY NOTED AND THEY WERE TOLD TO CONTINUE THEIR GOOD WORK.

12. GIVEN THE EARLY DISPUTE OVER CHAD'S DELEGATION, OAU COULD NOT SHELVE THAT PROBLEM. SINCE RIGHT OF DELEGATION FROM NDJEMANA TO BE SEATED WAS CONTESTED BY RIVAL DELEGATION REPRESENTING ALGERIAN AND NIGERIAN SUPPORTED GROUPS, MINISTERIAL COUNCIL WAS FORCED TO DELIBERATE THE ISSUE AT LENGTH. FURTHER COMPLICATION AROSE WITH

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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ARRIVAL OF A THIRD DELEGATION. DESPITE CONCERN BY SOME DELEGATIONS AT IMPLICATIONS OF DECISION TO DENY SEAT TO DELEGATION IN CONTROL OF CAPITAL, DECISION OF MINISTERIAL COUNCIL WAS TO SEAT NO DELEGATION SINCE THIS WOULD 'JEOPARDISE DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS' BY GIVING DE-FACTO OAU RECOGNITION TO ONLY SOME OF THE FACTIONS TO THE CHAD DISPUTE. AT SUMMIT, NIGERIAN PRESIDENT OBASANJO ANNOUNCED THAT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES NEIGHBOURING CHAD HAD RESULTED IN DECISION TO CALL A FURTHER MEETING OF CHAD FACTIONS IN LAGOS IN TWO WEEKS. HE FURTHER CLAIMED THAT, IN CONTRAST WITH THE LAST LAGOS CONFERENCE, ALL FACTIONS (INCLUDING NDJEMANA FACTIONS) WOULD ATTEND. CHAD'S LOCATION MAKES IT FOCAL POINT OF SEVERAL OPPOSING FORCES IN AFRICAN BALANCE OF POWER (NOTABLY AFRO-ARAB CONFRONTATION) AND MANY OAU MEMBERS REALISE IMPORTANCE TO OAU STANDING FOR IT TO BE ABLE TO FIND LASTING SOLUTION.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: AME

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	PPU	MCO	FAS(SEP)
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S				

MOSCOW PEKING PRETORIA TRIPOLI

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WESTERN SAHARA (UNDERLINE TWO)

6. MOROCCO'S ISOLATION WAS CLEAR FROM EARLY STAGES AND ADOPTION OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF AD HOC COMMITTEE, INCLUDING CALL FOR ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, BY SUMMIT WAS VIRTUALLY ASSURED. AFTER MAKING SPEECH DEFENDING ITS POSITION, IN WHICH INTER ALIA IT CLAIMED THAT ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD ALREADY BEEN CARRIED OUT THROUGH DJEMAA, THAT ABSORPTION OF SAHARA WAS ACT OF DECOLONISATION GIVEN HISTORIC MOROCCAN CLAIMS TO THE REGION, AND THAT POLISARIO DID NOT REPRESENT SAHAROU PEOPLE BUT RATHER ALGERIAN INTERESTS. MOROCCO WITHDREW FROM SUMMIT. DELEGATION LATER SAID ANY DECISION MADE BY SUMMIT WOULD THEREFORE NOT BE RELEVANT TO MOROCCO. REPORT OF AD HOC COMMITTEE WAS ADOPTED, WITH MAIN OPPOSITION COMING FROM SENEGAL, GABON, ZAIRE AND COMOROS. SUMMIT THEN ADOPTED RESOLUTION CALLING FOR AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND ESTABLISHING A COMMITTEE CHAIRED BY LIBERIA TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ARRANGING A MEETING OF INTERESTED PARTIES, DISCUSSING THE MODALITIES OF SELF-DETERMINATION, AND REPORTING BACK TO AN EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT TO BE HELD IN 1980.

7. GIVEN MOROCCO'S ATTITUDE TO OAU INVOLVEMENT IN THE SITUATION, THIS MOVE IS UNLIKELY TO ACHIEVE OAU OBJECTIVE WHICH IS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO QUESTION OF SAHARA IN PLACE OF PRESENT ARMED STRUGGLE. WE SHALL FORWARD FURTHER COMMENT AND DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING COPY OF AD HOC COMMITTEE REPORT, BY BAG.

ISLAND TERRITORIES (UNDERLINE TWO)

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27 June 1979

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SECURITY COUNCIL : MOROCCON COMPLAINT

935/28/2

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Attached is a copy of the provisional verbatim record of the meeting of the Council on 25 June 1979 referred to in our reftel.

2. As Morocco, the instigator of the item did not expressly ask to have it deleted the item will remain on the list of matters with which the Council is seized. Western Sahara is of course a separate item.

3. The final Moroccan defeat came when it sought immediately after the Security Council meeting to have a meeting of the African Group convened. The Group took the attitude that Morocco had persisted in the matter over the objections of the Group and a meeting was not called.

(Ian L. James)
Counsellor

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UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2153
22 June 1979

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THIRD MEETING

935/28/2

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 22 June 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. TROYANOVSKY	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
Members: Bangladesh	Mr. RAHMAN
Bolivia	Mr. PALACIOS DE VIZZIO
China	Mr. CHOU NAN
Czechoslovakia	Mr. HULINSKY
France	Mr. LEPRETTE
Gabon	Mr. N'DONG
Jamaica	Mr. NEIL
Kuwait	Mr. EL-JEAAN
Nigeria	Mr. BLANKSON
Norway	Mr. KOLBY
Portugal	Mr. MATHIAS
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARD
United States of America	Mr. McHENRY
Zambia	Mr. LUSAKA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.



LETTERS DATED 13 JUNE 1979 AND 15 JUNE 1979 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/13394 and S/13397)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representative of Morocco to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Algeria, Benin, Madagascar, Mauritania and Zaire to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Filali (Morocco) took a place at the Council table: Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. Hounouvou (Benin), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Taya (Mauritania) and Mr. Buketi Bukayi Matulombe (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Congo and Democratic Yemen in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mondjo (Congo) and Mr. Ashtal (Democratic Yemen) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Benin. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (interpretation from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin is happy to have been invited to participate in this important debate on the question of Western Sahara. We are grateful to the members of the Council for the opportunity given us to contribute our point of view on this important matter.

Mr. President, I should like most warmly to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. Knowing you personally as a seasoned and honest diplomat, well versed in the item before the Security Council, I have no doubt whatsoever that there will be a successful outcome to this debate, which you have been conducting so objectively and with such a sense of responsibility.

Your great and beautiful country, the Soviet Union, aware of its immense responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, is playing a primary and positive role on the international scene. The delegation of the People's Republic of Benin appreciates your political, diplomatic and material support for the cause of the liberation of peoples throughout the world, and in particular in southern Africa, that important part of our great, rich and beautiful continent, which is occupied by white colonial racist minorities. The excellence of the relations between the USSR and Benin is highly appreciated by our people and the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin.

(Mr. Houngavou, Benin)

The item before the Council today is in essence none other than the crucial question of the self-determination of a frustrated people, the Sahraoui people, who in the face of the blind intransigence of the new Moroccan conquerors have taken up arms and intensified their attacks against those aggressors who have refused to listen to reason. Any other interpretations of this objective reality, such as those some people are resorting to in order to camouflage matters, are nothing but excuses and a crude method of diverting the attention of the Security Council in order to mislead it. They are also a clever way of duping public opinion, not only Moroccan public opinion but also international public opinion. This process uses the same set of conjuring tricks invented by the imperialist and colonialist Powers that search for any subterfuge or other underhanded methods such as the distortion of facts and the propagation of lies and slander in order to camouflage the truth. But truth will triumph in the end.

What in fact is the issue here? Since 1975, it has been the struggle for survival of a whole people, the self-determination, the freedom and the political independence to which every people has a sovereign right within the framework laid down by international law, the very foundation of which is constituted by the Charter of our Organization.

The case presented by Morocco with regard to the so-called aggression on the part of Algeria is a very feeble one. The contradictions it contains and its objectives cannot possibly be hidden from anyone.

Morocco, the new conqueror of Africa, is using the same stratagems that the imperialist Powers and the minority racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa have been using. Those methods consist in refusing to recognize the right of people to self-determination, in disregarding national liberation movements and in lumping them together with vulgar everyday terrorists, the dregs of certain decadent societies. That is why those régimes have been resorting to sophisticated military methods and have developed a thesis known as the right of hot pursuit, which permits them to commit aggression against neighbouring countries or any country which supports national liberation movements. Morocco's objective, in this case it is now staging, is to find excuses to justify

(Mr. Hounouvou, Benin)

and legitimize an act of aggression that will shortly take place against Algeria, which, ever since its independence, won by force of arms has been supporting all the national liberation movements, including the Frente POLISARIO.

My country, the People's Republic of Benin, which from the very beginning has believed the national inalienable rights of the Sahraoui people to be well-founded and which will always support that people until final victory, has been the indirect victim of aggression at the hands of the Kingdom of Morocco, which offered training facilities and facilities for officers at Benguerir as well as supplying some of the arms for the mercenaries led by Bob Denard, who savagely attacked the People's Republic of Benin on Sunday, 16 January 1977. The United States magazine Esquire published an article by Jon Bradshaw, on 27 March 1979, on the background of the criminal career of the international mercenary Bob Denard, and brought out the important role played by Morocco in that affair.

The people of Benin are perfectly aware of the fact that by that shameful crime against their national independence, Morocco intended to punish Benin for its unswerving support of POLISARIO and the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic. But far from being intimidated, we have ever since that time seriously intensified and developed our militant co-operation in all areas with the valiant Sahraoui people. We in Benin, jealous of our national independence, feel closely bound to that people and we believe that its determination to fight and to win, in spite of extremely difficult conditions, deserves our total support. That is why we have made a thorough study of the Sahraoui people, its organizations, its armed struggle, the difficulties of the terrain and the conditions of the struggle imposed upon it precisely by those including Morocco, that have invaded its territory and dismembered it like game captured in the hunt after the shameful Madrid Agreement of 1975.

Benin has discovered in the course of its numerous contacts with POLISARIO and its leaders, contacts in the Sahara itself, the difficulties involved in the fight and the tremendous magnitude of the tasks as well as the importance of the successes won by the Frente POLISARIO in its struggle against foreign domination and military occupation by Morocco.

(Mr. Houngavou, Benin)

As the Latin proverb goes, it is human to err; but it is diabolical to persist in error. The fact that Morocco is so obstinately opposing the national aspirations of such a determined people and the fact that it is persisting in past errors naturally creates tension and an explosive situation in that part of Africa. Morocco at present is alone responsible for this situation and it must be ready to bear the consequences.

What should the Security Council do? For our part, after having heard those qualified to speak on this question, we feel that the Council should know where it stands. But we do think that the Council, which bears responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should tell Morocco that the peace and the security it is seeking must be brought about by the cessation of the military occupation of Western Sahara and of acts of aggression against that people and by the creation of the necessary conditions to permit the full development of the Sahraoui people.

But if Morocco persists in disregarding the inalienable rights of the Sahraoui people, it is obvious that there will be no tranquillity, no peace and no security for Morocco and that the Sahraoui will continue to strike staggering blows against Morocco until that people has completely achieved all its national aspirations. The victory of the Sahraoui is certain.

My delegation would like to present its condolences to the representative of the POLISARIO to the United Nations, who has lost his brother in recent engagements.

The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Benin for his kind words about my country and about me personally.

The next speaker is the representative of Madagascar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French):

Mr. President, the consistently cordial relations between our two peoples and Governments, in the most varied fields, certainly authorize me today to tell you how satisfied my delegation is to see you presiding over the Security Council. We extend to you our heartfelt congratulations. We have long been aware of your eminent qualities and of your acute awareness that you represent a State whose role in the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as in the promotion of justice and social progress, is decisive. You will therefore understand the trust we place in you at a time when we are discussing a question which concerns Africa as a whole and which affects the future of the oppressed Sahraoui people and of peace in a region of Africa with which we have so many ties of affection, not to mention all our other ties.

The question now before the Council has to do with those groups of problems where the opposing interests are so clear cut that they obviously give rise to passions on all sides, although not to the point where things are allowed to get out of hand or to become exacerbated. My delegation would be the last to seek to poison the atmosphere in which the present initiative of the Moroccan Government has been taken. In our intervention we should like, first of all, to try to place in the correct perspective the various elements submitted to the Council for its examination.

Indeed, we think that the comfort of silence and abstention is not fitting when there are at stake principles which it seems to us essential to respect in the quest for a solution to an African problem that is so important to us. We would be very happy if our contribution to the discussion could help the Council to decide on its responsibilities, to take its decisions in full knowledge of the facts and not in the dim light of partial facts.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

Peace and security in the north-western part of Africa cannot be maintained or respected if we do not try to find a comprehensive solution to the question of Western Sahara, a solution requiring the simultaneous, objective consideration of all the facts. In other words, any partial debate, taking into account only selective - and therefore arbitrary - aspects of the problem can lead only to partial, unbalanced solutions. That, it must be recognized, would be intolerable in a situation where the most promising solutions have often been rejected and where procrastination, subterfuge and wiles of all kinds have already done too much harm to many interests, and particularly the interests of the Sahraoui people.

Submitting to the Security Council a request that is limited in space and time requires, we feel, a certain dose of cynicism, knowing full well that the Council is aware of all the ins-and-outs of the question of Western Sahara, since it discussed that question three times in 1975, on the occasion of the famous "Green March" ordered by the Government of Morocco. It is an approach which also seems to us unacceptable since the Sahraoui people has not entirely regained its rights to freedom and independence nor wiped from its national territory the traces and consequences of the occupation and dismemberment perpetrated by the successors of Spanish colonialism.

It will surprise no one if I say at this stage that our approach is entirely different from - in fact, it is opposed to - the intellectual initiative expressed in the letter (S/13394) dated 14 June 1979 from the Permanent Representative of the Kingdom of Morocco. That letter stresses so-called acts of aggression of which Morocco complains it has been the victim, with particular reference to the operations that have taken place since 31 May 1979.

If there had in fact been aggression against Morocco's sovereignty and territorial integrity, we would have been the first to rise up against such acts. But the international community is fully aware of what is happening in the region to which Morocco belongs. The information media of all countries have been reporting in great detail the development of the acts of war which, regrettably, are taking place in that region; no one could challenge the fact that there are confrontations between the Frente Polisario and other forces.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

The facts show that what has happened in the Sahara and in Morocco since the occupation, including the military operations since 31 May 1979, cannot be peremptorily assimilated to a simple act of aggression. We think that, on the contrary, these are "privileged operations", explicitly excluded by article 7 of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) from the field of application of the definition of aggression. That article provides that

"Nothing in this Definition, and in particular article 3, could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right ... particularly peoples under colonial and racist régimes or other forms of alien domination; nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the ... Declaration On Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States."

We maintain that instead of censuring the operations and struggle of the Frente Polisario, States have the duty to support them, and the contribution to that end of several countries, including Algeria, is all the more laudable.

In the light of what I have just stated, what can be said of this idea of self-defence, which also occupies an important place in the letter from the Permanent Representative of Morocco? To our mind, when the operations of the Frente Polisario cannot be legally assimilated to an act of aggression, and when the idea of aggression is neither well founded nor justified, the claim of exercising the right of self-defence cannot be defended.

If, in these circumstances, this right is still invoked against the Polisario, do not those who do so become aggressors themselves? In that respect, it seems to us particularly timely to point out that Article 51 of the Charter gives the Security Council the right of control over the exercise of the right of self-defence, which some are perhaps tempted to invoke improperly.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

The same line of reasoning should be applied, we think, to the right of hot pursuit, that means which other oppressive and colonialist régimes have misused and still misuse in order to stifle the aspirations of peoples which are fighting for their freedom and to hamper the momentum of solidarity.

Present international practice, which recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of liberation movements and their right to use all means at their disposal to ensure the triumph of their just cause cannot be reconciled with the recourse to that idea. While in international instruments which represent a universal consensus we recommend that each member of the international community assist national liberation movements, how can we tolerate, even less give the stamp of legitimacy to that idea of the right of hot pursuit, which implies the denial of that assistance and the desecration of State borders and contains the seed of further inter-State conflicts?

When it is called upon to take a decision on the three points mentioned by the Moroccan Government, that is to say, the so-called acts of aggression, the exercise of legitimate self-defence and the right of hot pursuit, the Security Council must, we feel, take all the necessary precautions and avoid being led into denying to the Sahraoui people what has been granted to others, that is to say, justice, peace, freedom and independence.

Further comments should be made on the Moroccan document, S/13394, in which responsibility for the military operations that the Frente POLISARIO conducted to defend its just cause is wrongly attributed to Algeria. The reason for that, we suspect, is that POLISARIO cannot be accused, in fact or in law, of acts of aggression and the only possible trick that can be used to give foundation to the Moroccan allegations is to implicate Algeria.

In the same way, they try to present the problem of the Sahara as a bilateral matter confined to "a specific time and place" concerning only two countries, Morocco and Algeria. But, there are other parties concerned in the dispute, not the least of which are the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the group of non-aligned countries, which still maintain that the principles elaborated in regard to decolonization should be applied to the Sahraoui people.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

We fear that those who have fought tooth and nail to reduce this problem to a bilateral one simply wish to deny the existence of POLISARIO and the Sahraoui people from which that movement sprang and that is tantamount to rejecting all the resolutions on Western Sahara which POLISARIO has recognized.

The international community could not commit itself to the same path which would surely lead to the collapse of any edifice that serves as the basis of all the initiatives taken since 1966 and renewed in 1975 to try to resolve the question of Western Sahara.

His Excellency the Minister of State of the Kingdom of Morocco has spoken before the Council of the concerns of his Government as to the preservation of the security of his country and the safeguarding of peace and security in the region. There is nothing more legitimate and more understandable than that. But it is not enough to show restraint in this difficult affair where countries of the region are at odds. We must think about respecting international norms and rules.

It is in the light of those rules that the Moroccan Government could perhaps re-examine its policy as well as its concerns, since the latter should in no way provide a pretext for denying to States and to peoples in the region the security to which they are also entitled.

In proceeding to military occupation and the annexation and dismemberment of Western Sahara, has Morocco not flouted the security of the Sahraoui people? Can they deny the fact that it is precisely those actions and their consequences which have imperilled peace and security in the region.

The trouble that was taken not to mention POLISARIO likewise deserves comment. The shady actions of Morocco since the "Green March" and the annexation have compelled POLISARIO to organize politically and militarily at the national level. It has become a force which the Moroccan Government cannot come to terms with, but there is no point in seeking to deny their keenness in the struggle and even less the fact that they do exist, by using derogatory terms like "armed gangs" or "mercenaries". Those whom Morocco describes in this way in order to deny to them any international hearing,

have by others been recognized either as a legitimate Government or as a national liberation movement worthy of being assisted in the best possible way. In fact the insinuation that "these armed gangs" are only supported by Algeria, is only an ad hoc argument which is disproved by the existence throughout the world of a network of support for the struggle of the POLISARIO.

Neither document S/13394 nor the statement made by the Moroccan delegation referred to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The decolonization of Western Sahara is at the very heart of our debate and it is above all within the context of that Declaration that we must place our discussions.

But, such is the determination of the Moroccan delegation that we are ourselves compelled to recall those unanimously accepted principles, which are applicable to the situation in Western Sahara and which they deliberately omitted to mention.

Those principles are the following: abstention from any military or repressive action which would hamper the accession to independence of colonial peoples; the non-use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity; the unacceptability of the subjection of peoples to subjugation, domination and foreign exploitation; the legitimacy of the struggle of liberation movements and their right to use all means at their disposal to enable them to accede to independence; the right of liberation movements to seek and to receive assistance and support in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter; the inviolability of the integrity of colonial territories; the non-use of force to acquire territory; and the duty of States to assist liberation movements with a view to bringing about the speedy elimination of colonialism.

Those principles, as I have already recalled, are enshrined in all the solemn declarations of the United Nations that the Moroccan delegation referred to in its statement. They form a whole for it is a fact that decolonization, international security and friendly relations between States cannot be arbitrarily dissociated the one from the other.

(Mr. Rabetafika, Madagascar)

In our statement we have not sought to deny that a conflict exists. We have only striven to prove, on the basis of well-known facts, that the respective roles of the parties to the dispute are different from those that Morocco is trying to demonstrate. It is clear that what is of concern to us is which party is the aggressor and which is the victim. We know which is abusing its rights and which is demanding its due. We know which is fulfilling international obligations and which is violating the principles which are the subject of universal consensus concerning decolonization, the prohibition on occupying a foreign territory by force and the ban on infringing the integrity of a colonial territory.

We have recalled a number of the principles which should enable the Security Council to decide on responsibilities here and to help the parties discharge their obligations concerning, on the one hand, the need to ensure for the Sahraoui people the exercise of their inalienable rights to liberty and independence and, on the other hand, the need to restore peace to the region.

At the present stage, the obligations of the Security Council cannot be limited solely to Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter which the Moroccan Government chose as the framework for its statement. It must go further on the way to finally resolving the problem by requiring immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Western Sahara. It is in duty bound to restore the rights of the Sahraoui people, to put an end to the injustice and oppression imposed on it, to state that that people has fallen victim to an act of aggression and to condemn the authors of that aggression.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Madagascar for his kind words to me and also about the friendly relations existing between his country and my own.

The next speaker is Mr. Madjid, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 at its 2151st meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ABDALLAH (interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. President, I would request you to be good enough to convey the thanks of the Frente POLISARIO and of the Government of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic to the members of the Security Council for having taken the historic and most legitimate decision to invite me, in my capacity as representative of POLISARIO, to address this Council.

The participation of a delegation from POLISARIO - the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people - demonstrates, if demonstration were needed, the fidelity of the Security Council to the unswerving policy followed by the United Nations to bring to a successful end the process of decolonization in the Western Sahara, in accordance with the desire of its people for independence. The participation of a delegation of my Government in your meetings is of particular interest and significance at this stage of our people's struggle to recover its total independence. The aggressors must learn a lesson from this: that the international community rejects and condemns any attempts at creating faits accomplis.

This decision of the Security Council serves to strengthen the positions so often reaffirmed by the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice, the Committee of 24 and also the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement.

In spite of the aggressors' manoeuvres so far, and its lies and attempted distortions of the actual fundamental facts of decolonization, the international community intends to shoulder its responsibilities with regard to the injustices and genocidal crimes deliberately perpetrated by the aggressors against our people.

(Mr. Abdallah)

Our people, which has great hopes of the international community's putting an end to the crimes from which it has been suffering, finds in the Council's decision not only grounds for pride, but also encouragement for peoples struggling to recover their sacred right to independence; for it is true that the struggle of the Sahraoui people against the criminal aggression of Morocco and Mauritania is objectively and historically identifiable with the common struggles of other peoples of Africa and throughout the world to regain their independence and to defend their dignity.

The question of Western Sahara is clear and is at a stage which gives rise to no possible ambiguity. Morocco and its accomplices have embarked on a colonial expedition against the Sahraoui people, which is waging a liberation struggle in legitimate self-defence against foreign occupation. The question of Western Sahara is thus exclusively one of decolonization and, as such, it comes under resolution 1514 (XV), Article 73 of the Charter and to the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity relating to the right of peoples to self-determination and to respect for frontiers inherited from the colonial period.

It is on that understanding that the United Nations has been dealing with this question, entrusting it to the General Assembly and the Committee of 24. It is also because of its character as a question of decolonization that the non-aligned movement and the Organization of African Unity have been dealing with the grave situation in Western Sahara.

There is no need to recall in this connexion that a just and genuine process of decolonizing Western Sahara is the major concern of the General Assembly, one to which it has devoted resolutions with which the Council is familiar. The General Assembly wants the issue to be taken up by the United Nations in the proper framework. It is for this reason that this question falls within the competence not only of the General Assembly but of the Fourth Committee and the Committee of 24.

This responsibility stems from the nature of the question as one of decolonization. But in the face of our people's determination to pursue its struggle until total independence, and of the inability of the criminal Moroccan army of 40,000 men, the Rabat Government has been resorting to the classic stratagem of all colonialists accused by struggling peoples, that of twisting the truth. In this regard, the request it addressed to the Security Council in an attempt to remove the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara from the United Nations bodies entrusted with decolonization is equalled only by the cowardly and ill-founded accusations made against certain countries in that region.

The decision of the criminal Rabat régime to put the matter before the Security Council is doubly grave and inadmissible, because the King of Morocco, having failed to impose a fait accompli in the field through military violence, is now seeking the sanction of the Security Council for his intransigence and for his genocidal action committed against a small African people, as well as for his refusal to permit any just and lasting political solution to the problem.

Is there any need to recall the dynamic peace process begun hardly a year ago between two parties to the conflict following the cease-fire decreed by POLISARIO in Mauritania? Instead of participating in and encouraging the thaw in the situation engendered by that peace process Morocco has chosen a policy of intransigence in its criminal course of occupation and expansionism, whereas POLISARIO has declared, on the basis of the peace process, that Morocco must rejoin the other two parties, POLISARIO and Mauritania, in discussing together a political solution.

(Mr. Abdallah)

Moroccan aggressors today tell us that the situation is serious. Yes, it is very serious, and we must ask ourselves who is responsible for it. Whereas the process of decolonization in Western Sahara was clearly outlined by the international community as a whole, Morocco and its accomplices have assumed a very heavy responsibility by invading the territory of Western Sahara, occupying it, dividing it up and oppressing its people, thus compelling the latter to take flight and go into exile.

This shows what the real aggression consists in and who are the true aggressors. This aggression is directed not only against the people of Western Sahara but also against the international community, whose principles and decisions are being flouted.

After more than three long years of veritably murderous warfare imposed on the Sahraoui people by the aggressive troops of Morocco and Mauritania, the Moroccan Government now recalls for us deeds of war and mentions forces which it still refuses to name, but which it knows and which are the true and valiant fighters of the Frente POLISARIO.

There is a reality, therefore, which in the final analysis the aggressors must accept, and recent events have shown us that peace, security and stability are unattainable in the region as long as the intolerable denial of justice of which our people is the victim continues. To refuse, then, to look this reality in the face is to acquiesce in the deliberate flouting of one of the most valuable principles of the United Nations by Morocco and its accomplices, to allow the role of the United Nations to be held up to ridicule and also to assume the responsibility for all those who will die.

The situation remains explosive and serious and Morocco, which in spite of the disproportionate strength of the forces it can muster is incapable of overcoming our fighters, is attempting, as has often been done in the history of colonialists and expansionists, to conceal by a policy of escape by rushing wildly into the fray the fundamental nature of a problem which is none other than a question of decolonization.

(Mr. Abdallah)

(Mr. Abdallah)

Since 1966 the General Assembly of the United Nations has been constantly dealing with this distressing problem and affirming the inalienable right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence. Similar rights attained thanks to ceaseless struggling on all continents, are part of the most precious acquisitions of the common heritage of nations. Such rights have been definitively elaborated and find their most authentic expression in resolution 1514 (XV), which lays down that:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination..."

From 1966 to 1978 the General Assembly has been adopting resolutions in which it has steadfastly reaffirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. Thus, in 1966 the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence and called upon the administering Power to guide the Territory towards independence in accordance with Article 73 of the Charter. This resolution - resolution 2229 (XXI) - subsequently served as a model for a series of other resolutions, identical in substance and which, up to resolution 33/31 of 13 December 1978, have each time reiterated in ever more vigorous terms the need for the total liberation of Western Sahara through the exercise by our people of its right to self-determination and independence and established that the Frente POLISARIO is the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people.

It is within the United Nations itself that the Moroccan aggressors entered into the most solemn commitments to respect the right to self-determination and independence of the Sahraoui people. I would venture to mention here some of the statements made by representatives of His Majesty the King of Morocco. Speaking on 8 November 1965 in the Fourth Committee the representative of Morocco stated:

"The only path to follow is that of permitting the people freely to participate without any foreign domination in the management of its own affairs."

On 7 November 1966 he stated:

"Since June 1966 Morocco has urged that the people of the Territory be authorized to exercise its right to self-determination and independence."

(Mr. Abdallah)

On 1 November 1972 in the same Committee he stated again:

"Morocco wants to come to the United Nations to discuss in good faith the question of self-determination under the control of the United Nations."

Those are solemn commitments made by Morocco before the international community, and no political manoeuvre can possibly free Morocco from them.

The truth is that the Rabat régime has chosen its present criminal course with the aim of introducing a precedent extremely dangerous for the credibility of the United Nations and for the confidence and the hope which the struggling peoples place in it. This precedent, which is marked by the attempt to hinder a normal process of decolonization in a clearly defined territory, is all the more serious because it is being created at a time when other peoples in other parts of the world are facing similar aggression and colonial manoeuvres.

Indeed, if the United Nations does not shoulder its responsibilities in order to put an end to the criminal undertaking being perpetrated against the Sahraoui people in disregard of its sacred, inalienable right, the political solutions defined by the United Nations will seem ridiculous and, what is even more serious, serve as a screen for such attempts.

In invading the territory of Western Sahara the Moroccan Government has issued the gravest possible challenge to the international community. This invasion was carried out first of all under the cover of the so-called criminal "Green March", which was in fact nothing but a thinly disguised military invasion. On 31 October 1975 the Royal Moroccan Army went directly into action in the territory of Western Sahara. By continuing its invasion Morocco once again defied the international community and the Security Council. The Security Council will recall that it considered this matter and urged the King of Morocco to call off the invasion of the territory of Western Sahara.

The criminal and barbarous action perpetrated by Morocco occurred at a time when the report of the United Nations mission of inquiry and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice had revealed the vanity of the Moroccan claims.

(Mr. Abdallah)

The International Court of Justice concluded, in paragraph 162 of its advisory opinion, that:

"On the other hand, the Court's conclusion is that the materials and information presented to it do not establish any tie of territorial sovereignty between the territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity. Thus the Court has not found legal ties of such a nature as might affect the application of resolution 1514 (XV) in the decolonization of Western Sahara and, in particular, of the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory." (A/10300, para. 162)

(Mr. Abdallah)

The Court left no room either for ambiguity or misinterpretations, and the arguments which Morocco in cowardly fashion is trying to foist on public opinion are vain and futile.

It will also be recalled that in 1975 the General Assembly sent a mission of inquiry, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Simon Ake, now Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast, which, after having examined on the spot all the information and facts of the situation in Western Sahara, made a clear and circumstantial report in which it noted that the unanimous will of the Sahraoui people was for independence and that POLISARIO was the dominant political force in Western Sahara.

Morocco, seeing its arguments rebuffed one by one, thought it would at least benefit from using force, that is, from the possibility of gaining a rapid victory and presenting the world with a fait accompli. That military adventure in Western Sahara, like any lost cause, needed to deck itself out with the appearance of international legitimacy. The so-called Madrid Agreement, on which Morocco relies to legitimize its military adventure in Western Sahara, lapsed first in the territory because of the very inability of the aggressive troops to occupy Western Sahara and the determination of the Sahraoui people to free its country, and then by reason of the change of attitude of two of its signatories, Spain and Mauritania.

Morocco has committed too many crimes against a small people which aspires only to peace in freedom and dignity. The first of those crimes - which will give rise to others - was its attempt to erase from the face of the earth a people and its land by dividing it up and annexing it by force. Then there was the whole procession of horrors of foreign occupation of the most inhumane kind: genocide, brutal repression, reprisals against the civilian population, blind napalm bombing, collective executions, concentration camps and so on.

From the testimony given by so many reporters of the international press and so many international humanitarian organizations I shall recall here, for example, that of Mr. Denis Payot, Secretary-General of the Federation of Human Rights, who said:

(Mr. Abdallah)

"Morocco and Mauritania, by penetrating the territory of Spanish Sahara contrary to all the resolutions of the United Nations, have violated one of the fundamental principles of the rights of man, that of the self-determination of peoples... the rights of man and the rights of peoples, inasmuch as the rights of peoples are only the collective expression of the rights of man.

"But there is more. That invasion was accompanied by innumerable sufferings inflicted upon persons of all ages and in all conditions. The Commission found overwhelming proof regarding the situation of the Sahraoui people. Hundreds of photographs taken on the spot and testimony gathered there leave no room for doubt.

"From their very arrival the soldiers of those two occupying Powers slaughtered hundreds, even thousands of Sahraoui citizens who refused to swear allegiance. Some saw their own children slaughtered before their eyes as a way of intimidating them. It would appear that there was not a single Sahraoui refugee or temporarily displaced person who had not seen or known suffering inflicted upon his own family by one of those soldiers, not to mention the bombings by the air force of refugee camps of totally defenceless people in Amgala, Tifariti and Guelta."

The attempt to liquidate with napalm the 2,500 inhabitants of Oum Dreiga, almost exclusively women and children, was an example of Morocco's horrid determination to annihilate a whole people, since it could not force it to its knees.

Morocco and its accomplices have used and abused the good faith of the international community for four years, denying not only the gravity of the war but also its very existence. It is a story familiar to representatives told by the Moroccan Government and the Government of Mokhtar Ould Daddah which used to claim in international forums that there was no war. But the magnitude of this war of liberation which is growing every day and the resistance of our people show that Morocco has embarked upon a criminal venture, plunging a whole region into a colonial war.

(Mr. Abdallah)

However, as in all other colonial wars, the military expeditions to Western Sahara will meet with the same fate.

Hassan II bears total responsibility for this war of aggression against the Sahraoui people which is also ruining Morocco despite all its military and economic potential. All its forces are committed to the war without, however, being able to attain the ignoble goal of colonizing the Sahara. The request of the King of Morocco for a meeting of the Security Council is part and parcel of his attempts to distract Moroccan public opinion from the tragic war.

The annexation of Western Sahara has caused tremendous "blood-letting" in the Moroccan economy. More than 40,000 soldiers are committed against POLISARIO, as acknowledged in The New York Times issue of 1 May last. It was reported by the same New York Times that forces from POLISARIO were enjoying total freedom of movement and have the initiative in the field.

While the Sahraoui people is consolidating its resistance and strengthening its national institutions, the enemies are digging their own graves and getting bogged down in this unjust war. Today our people, organized under the sole legitimate leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, has liberated most of its homeland over which it exercises sovereign control. The people's liberation army of the Sahara has retained the initiative in the combat zone.

The Moroccan Government's intransigence and obstinacy in its refusal to recognize the rights of the Sahraoui people to self-determination and independence, and its refusal to accept the findings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the International Court of Justice, have led to the current situation. The Moroccan Government's refusal to accept the findings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the International Court of Justice, have led to the current situation. The Moroccan Government's refusal to accept the findings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the International Court of Justice, have led to the current situation.

to the Sahraoui people's liberation struggle, the Frente POLISARIO, in the name of the Sahraoui people, has been fighting for the liberation of Western Sahara. The Frente POLISARIO, in the name of the Sahraoui people, has been fighting for the liberation of Western Sahara. The Frente POLISARIO, in the name of the Sahraoui people, has been fighting for the liberation of Western Sahara.

I am available to the Council to give it any additional information in addition to this initial statement, if the Council so wishes.

(Mr. Abdallah)

We are sure, for our part, that the proliferation of plots and criminal enterprises and the Moroccan Government's recourse to the policy of escape by desperately plunging into the fray against our people will only serve to strengthen the latter's national unity and its determination to win back its sovereignty and to strengthen the international solidarity that it enjoys.

This international solidarity, which is becoming more and more active and is growing every day, has been reflected in the strengthening and expansion of political and diplomatic relations between the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and other States and political organizations in the world.

We wish to greet here the friendly countries and organizations which, at this time of grave ordeal through which our people is going, have recognized the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. We would also recall here that 23 States recognize our Republic and maintain diplomatic relations with it, while about 100 countries recognize the Frente POLISARIO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people.

The Sahraoui People's Army reflecting the dignity of our people and fighting with dignity strengthened by the justice of its cause, is capable of imposing respect for our national independence and territorial integrity. I should also like to stress that every day it is winning from the enemy tons of sophisticated equipment of every calibre. In other words, Morocco is our best arms supplier.

The Frente POLISARIO, aware of its responsibility in the region, ever since the Mauritanian Government expressed its willingness to respect the inalienable rights of our people has decreed a temporary unilateral cease-fire in Mauritania. The situation has thus been thawed, a momentum towards peace has been engendered and better conditions have been created to promote the bringing about of a just and lasting political settlement of the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara. This initiative has been taken in order to consolidate this momentum towards peace.

On the strength of these tactics of Mustapha Sayed, the Sahraoui People's Liberation Army is attacking in legitimate self-defence the rear bases and strongpoints of the enemy without which Morocco cannot possibly maintain its military posts in the areas of our Republic that have been occupied.

(Mr. Abdallah)

The repeated defeats suffered by the Moroccan army at Khnefis, Assa, Tan-Tan, Zag, Foug Lahcen, Leinseid, Abbatih and Tifariti demonstrate the military weakness of the Moroccan expansionist and colonialist régime in the face of the unshakable determination of our army to continue its heroic struggle in legitimate self-defence until it brings about the total liberation of our country.

The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic is already administering more than two thirds of the territory. In the course of just the first few weeks of 1979 a series of important towns and strategic positions, such as Tifariti, Amgala and Jderia, were liberated by our army, and many visitors have had an opportunity to go there, including an important delegation of Spanish members of parliament.

Faced with these repeated failures, the Government of Morocco is forced to resort to a policy aimed at hiding from its own and international public opinion the actual facts of its defeats in the field.

The current Moroccan manoeuvres are aimed at imputing to an outside country the failure of its policy of invasion and annexation, and should not be allowed to make us forget the facts of the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara, concerning which process the General Assembly is quite rightly continuing its deliberations.

I should like to repeat here before members of the Council the fact that the Frente POLISARIO is entirely ready to meet with Morocco and Mauritania in an attempt to find a political solution; but what is the chance of this appeal being successful in the face of Morocco's intransigence and obstinacy in determining, at whatever cost, to plunge the region into war? Our readiness is matched only by the determination of our people to continue its struggle of legitimate self-defence as long as Morocco continues to persist in its aggression and occupation. No one should think that the Sahraoui people could remain passive in the face of genocide and the attempted occupation of its country. Morocco, in its aggression, leaves us no choice. As long as Moroccan troops occupy a single inch of our territory, our struggle will go on and our people will fight the enemy wherever he can be found.

Sir, I should like to thank you once again, as well as the other members of the Council, for having permitted me to acquaint you with the views of the Frente POLISARIO in the hope that we have contributed to enlightening you with regard to the actual state of affairs in Western Sahara.

I am available to the Council to give it any additional information in addition to this initial statement, if the Council so wishes.

(Mr. Abdallah)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen): Mr. President, since you have assumed the presidency of the Security Council you have guided its deliberations with distinction, thanks to your vast experience and wisdom. My delegation is happy to address the Council under your eminent leadership, for you represent a country, the Soviet Union, with which we maintain excellent relations based on an unbreakable bond of friendship.

It is with a certain hesitation that I make this brief statement because the question under discussion involves fraternal Arab parties whose co-operation at this time is all too important to circumvent the notorious Camp David sell-out. Even at this point, Israeli warplanes are bombing the civilian population in southern Lebanon, while Zionist zealots are bulldozing Palestinian homes and establishing new alien settlements with the full support of the Israeli Government.

(Mr. Ashtal, Democratic Yemen)

We have no doubt that certain imperialist circles are doing their utmost to subvert the anti-Sadat, anti-Zionist Arab solidarity forged at the Baghdad summit. Certainly, this debate serves neither the Palestinian cause nor the well-being of our brothers in the Maghreb. That is why it was the overwhelming view of the Arab Group that this question should be dealt with in another context. For somewhat similar reasons, the African Group unsuccessfully tried to prevail on the Moroccan delegation not to insist on this debate in the Security Council.

On a more substantive level, my delegation believes that the question before the Council is essentially one of decolonization. As such, it is now in the hands of an ad hoc committee established by the Organization of African Unity, whose forthcoming Summit Conference will certainly tackle the problem of Western Sahara, which is the central issue in this conflict. The Security Council is certainly aware of the numerous resolutions calling for the exercise of the Sahraoui people's inalienable right to self-determination. To present the issue as a conflict between Algeria and Morocco is to ignore the most essential element in this regional polarization. For how can Algeria be accountable for incidents that took place 400 kilometres from its frontier, incidents apparently caused by the daily confrontation between the Moroccan army and the POLISARIO forces?

My delegation, upholding the right of peoples to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), has consistently supported the right of the Sahraoui people to self-determination. Furthermore, my Government has recognized POLISARIO as a genuine national liberation movement, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as an independent sovereign State. It is our earnest hope that the Moroccan Government will do likewise, thus averting bloodshed among brothers and containing this unnecessary regional confrontation between Arab States whose stability, prosperity and well-being are so intertwined and whose common heritage and fraternal bonds are unshakable by what we hope are only passing incidents.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Democratic Yemen for his kind words with regard to the friendly relations existing between our two countries and also for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mauritania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. TAYA (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, allow me first to extend to you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I do this with great pleasure, since the country you represent, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and mine enjoy friendly relations of lasting co-operation based on mutual interest and respect.

I should also like to thank all Council members for having permitted me to take part in their deliberations in order solemnly to recall the position of my Government on the Saharan issue. This position has been voiced repeatedly by various leaders of my country at the highest possible levels. The latest reaction expressed by my Government on this issue was contained in a communiqué addressed to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, dated 23 May 1979. That letter has been distributed as a document of the General Assembly (A/34/276). In adopting this stand, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has clearly shown its will for peace and its burning desire to help to bring about better understanding in the region. In taking that position, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania has extended its hand to all the peoples of the region. That fraternal hand is extended to all countries and to all peoples of the region in the hope that they will put an end to war and restore peace in all homes, in all houses, and in all tents.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, in adopting this position, has embarked upon a dynamic peace process in the region, and we hope that that will speedily lead to a just and lasting solution of the Saharan problem.

Quite recently the President of the French Republic said that Mauritania was a noble country worthy of respect. My people is faithful to its traditions, its dignity and its worth and wishes fully to play its part as a link between all countries in the north-west African region; but without thereby denying its

(Mr. Taya, Mauritania)

commitment, it hopes to play that part in a north-west Africa at peace, in a region of solidarity. Unfortunately a few weeks ago the mounting tension in the north-west African region led to confrontation, with incalculable consequences. In that connexion, in an official communiqué dated 12 June 1979, my country expressed its profound concern and its heartfelt preoccupation in the face of such a situation.

We now appeal to the Council to use all means available to it to spare our region chaos. Mauritania remains convinced that dialogue and joint efforts are the best way of finding a peaceful solution, a just and lasting solution, to all the problems facing the region.

We make an urgent appeal to all parties concerned to refrain from any action that might compromise peace and security in the region.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Mauritania for his kind words about me and my country.

There are no further speakers. I would once again ask delegations that wish to participate in the Council's deliberations to submit their names so that we can conclude our work.

With the consent of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to continue the discussion on this item will take place on Monday, 25 June, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

United Nations

Press Release

~~UNP~~
Department of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

Security Council
2154th Meeting (PM)



SC/4094
25 June 1979

935/28/2

SECURITY COUNCIL ADJOURNS FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF MOROCCAN COMPLAINT

The Security Council, at a brief meeting this afternoon, decided to adjourn further consideration of a complaint which Morocco had brought against Algeria.

The President of the Council, Oleg A. Troyanovsky (Soviet Union), informed the Council that he had received a letter, dated today, from Morocco (document S/13410). In that letter, Morocco said that President Mohammed Jaafar El Numeiry of the Sudan, the current President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), had interceded with King Hassan II of Morocco. The letter went on to say that, since King Hassan II had responded favourably to the appeal made by President Numeiry, Morocco was asking the Council to suspend action on the complaint it had brought before the Council.

"After consulting with the members of the Council", the President of the Council said, "I take it that it is the view of the members of the Council that the Council adjourn further consideration of the item."

There being no objection, he said it was so decided, and the Council adjourned.

The Council began debate on the Moroccan complaint on 20 June, and held further meetings on the matter on 21 and 22 June (see Press Release SC/4091 to 4093).

~~Mr B~~

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United Nations
Press Release

UNP *NWB*
Department of Public Information
Press Section
United Nations, New York

Security Council
2153rd Meeting
AM SUMMARY



SC/4093
22 June 1979

935/28/2

SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUES DEBATE ON MOROCCAN COMPLAINT

The Security Council, continuing debate on the Moroccan complaint against Algeria, heard statements this morning by the representatives of Benin, Madagascar, Democratic Yemen and Mauritania.

The Council also heard a statement by Madjid Abdallah, representative of the POLISARIO Front, under rule 39 of the Council's rules of procedure, by which the Council may invite "persons whom it considers competent for the purpose to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence".

The Council will meet again at 3:30 p.m. Monday, 25 June, to continue debate on this question.

In the debate this morning, Patrice Houngavou (Benin) said the issue before the Council was in fact the question of Western Sahara. It was one of the self-determination of a frustrated people who, faced by the policies of "the Moroccan occupiers", had taken up arms to achieve their rights.

Morocco, by using the argument of "hot pursuit", was trying to justify an aggression against Algeria "which will shortly take place", he said. The Council should tell Morocco that peace depended on its ending its occupation of Western Sahara, ceasing its aggression against the Saharan people and creating conditions for the independent development of Western Sahara.

Blaise Rabetafika (Madagascar) said Morocco used the term "aggression" but it did not apply in this case, as the acts complained of had been committed by a people seeking independence. Instead of censuring the operations of the POLISARIO Front, States should support them, and the contribution to the POLISARIO struggle made by Algeria and other States should be commended.

"Morocco should re-examine its policy", he asserted. It was Morocco's actions that endangered peace in the area. The Security Council should not deny the Saharan people the rights granted to other peoples. It should demand the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Western Sahara and condemn "the authors of the aggression" against the Saharan people.

(more)

22 June 1979

Mr. Abdallah said he was speaking as representative of POLISARIO and the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. "The criminal army of Morocco" was in difficulties, he said, and was trying to divert attention from the real issue of the decolonization of Western Sahara by making unfounded charges against neighbouring countries.

The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, he said, now administered about two thirds of its territory. Morocco's policy of invasion and annexation had failed. POLISARIO was "ready to meet with Morocco and Mauritania to attempt to find a political solution", but as long as Moroccan troops occupied a single inch of its territory, its fight would continue.

Abdalla Saleh Ashtal (Democratic Yemen) believed the question before the Council was essentially one of decolonization. As such, it was now in the hands of an ad hoc committee established by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) whose forthcoming summit conference would certainly tackle the problem of Western Sahara -- "which is the central issue in this conflict".

To present the issue as one of a conflict between Algeria and Morocco "is to ignore the most essential element in this regional polarization", he said. How could Algeria be accountable for incidents that took place 400 kilometres from its frontier -- incidents apparently caused by the daily confrontation between the Moroccan army and the POLISARIO forces?

Sid'Ahmed Ould Taya (Mauritania) said his Government had many times voiced its position on the Saharan issue, showing its will for peace and for better understanding in the region. It had stretched forward a fraternal hand to all the peoples of the region, seeking restoration of peace.

Mauritania, he went on, had "embarked on a dynamics of peace in the region". Unfortunately, however, there was mounting tension in north-western Africa and his country was much concerned. It hoped for a just and lasting solution of all the problems of the area, and appealed to all the parties to refrain from any action that could jeopardize peace.

(A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING APPEARS IN TAKES 1-9 OF THIS RELEASE)

Security Council
2153rd Meeting (AM)

Press Release SC/4093
22 June 1979

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 1

The Security Council met this morning to continue debate on a Moroccan complaint against Algeria. The debate began on 20 June (see Press Releases SC/4091 and 4092).

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Council, OLEG A. TROYANOVSKY (Soviet Union), at 11:25 a.m.

In accordance with decisions taken previously by the Council, he invited the representative of Morocco to take a seat at the Council table and the representatives of the following States to take seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber: Algeria, Benin, Madagascar, Mauritania and Zaire.

The PRESIDENT said that requests to participate in the debate had also been received from the Congo and Democratic Yemen.

The Council agreed to their requests, and the PRESIDENT invited the representatives of those States to take seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The debate then resumed.

PATRICE HOUNGAVOU (Benin) said that the Council was meeting on the important question of the Western Sahara. In essence, the question was one of self-determination of a frustrated people, who, faced by the blind policies of "the Moroccan occupiers", had taken up arms to achieve their rights.

He said that Morocco, in coming to the Council, was trying to deflect the Council from this main issue and was following the policies of the colonialists and imperialists.

(END OF TAKE 2)

(END OF TAKE 1)

SECURITY COUNCIL. -- TAKE 2

Continuing, the representative of Benin, Mr. HOUNGAVOU, said that, since 1975, the people of Western Sahara had been struggling for survival and independence. The case put by Morocco about a so-called "aggression" by Algeria was feeble and it fooled no one. Morocco, "the new conqueror of Africa", had no case, in his view.

He said that the argument of "hot pursuit" was used by Morocco to justify aggression against neighbouring countries. It was now trying to justify an aggression against Algeria "which will shortly take place".

Benin, he said, had been the indirect victim of Morocco's aggression. Morocco had given training facilities and weapons to those invading Benin in 1977. Morocco wanted to punish Benin for its support for POLISARIO, but Benin would not be intimidated and would give POLISARIO total support.

He said that Western Sahara had been "torn into pieces like game caught in the hunt", after the shameful agreement of Madrid regarding its future. Morocco continued in its erroneous policy, thus causing tension and an explosive situation in North Africa, he stated.

The Council, he said, should tell Morocco that peace and security depended on Morocco's ending its occupation of Western Sahara, ceasing its aggression against the Western Saharan people, and creating conditions for the independent development of Western Sahara.

He expressed condolences to the representative of POLISARIO for the loss of his brother in the recent fighting.

(END OF TAKE 2)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 3

BLAISE RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) said that he wanted to put the events in the region in proper perspective. This was an African problem, and the Council should act on the basis of facts. Peace in the region was at stake, and a comprehensive solution was needed. A partial debate would lead only to partial solutions.

The interests of the Saharan people should be paramount, he said.

The Council, he went on, had dealt with this question on three occasions in 1975 at the time of the "Green March" carried out by the Government of Morocco. But the Saharan people had not gained their independence, nor had the consequences of the occupation been eliminated, he said.

Commenting on the Moroccan letter requesting the meeting, the representative of Madagascar said that the term "aggression" did not apply in this case, as the acts complained of had been committed by a people seeking independence. Instead of censuring the operations of the POLISARIO Front, States should support them, he said. The contribution to the POLISARIO struggle made by Algeria and other States should be commended, in his view.

He opposed Morocco's claim to "the right of hot pursuit".

The Security Council, he went on, should not deny the Saharan people the rights granted to other peoples. Morocco sought to "implicate" Algeria, but there were other parties concerned with this matter, such as the United Nations itself, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Group of Non-Aligned States.

"Morocco should re-examine its policy", he asserted. It was Morocco's actions that endangered peace in the area. There was no point in trying to deny the existence of the POLISARIO front, which had been recognized by many States. The decolonization of Western Sahara was at the very heart of the present debate.

(END OF TAKE 3)

(END OF TAKE 3)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 4

Continuing, the representative of Madagascar, Mr. RABETAFIKA, said that States had a duty to assist the liberation movements.

He did not deny that there was a dispute, but there were different views as to who was the aggressor and who the victim, who was violating generally accepted international principles, he said.

The obligations of the Security Council could not be limited to the Charter provisions mentioned by Morocco, he said.

The Council had to go beyond that point and demand the immediate cessation of the illegal occupation of Western Sahara. It had to demand the restoration of the rights of the Saharan people, and an end to "the injustice and oppression imposed on them".

It had to recognize that they were "victims of an aggression" and "condemn the authors of that aggression".

The PRESIDENT then called on Madjid Abdallah, whom the Council had agreed previously to hear under rule 39 of its rules of procedure.

Under rule 39, the Council may invite "persons whom it considers competent for the purpose to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence".

(END OF TAKE 4)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 5

MADJID ABDALLAH said he was speaking as a representative of POLISARIO and of the government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. POLISARIO was the representative of the people. It called on the Council to help end the colonization of his country and to bring about its independence.

Morocco, he said, should learn from the debate the consequences of its actions.

"The Moroccan aggressors" should realize that the international community was going to shoulder its responsibilities in the face of "their genocidal crimes".

He said that the struggle of his people regarding the criminal aggression by Morocco and Mauritania was the same as the struggle of all colonial peoples, conducting a war of defence in the face of aggression. The struggle was quite simply a liberation struggle, whose legitimacy was recognized by the United Nations, the OAU and the non-aligned movement.

He said that "the criminal army of Morocco" was in difficulties and so Morocco was trying to divert attention from the real issue of decolonization by making unfounded charges against neighbouring countries. The aim was to have the Council support the King of Morocco "in his criminal and genocidal policies", he asserted.

He said that Morocco was intransigent in its policies of occupation and expansionism. It should reverse that policy and join POLISARIO and Mauritania in the discussions for a solution. Morocco was the aggressor -- invading Western Sahara, occupying it and partitioning it. It was conducting a murderous war.

The unnamed forces in the Moroccan letter, he said, were the forces of POLISARIO, the representative of the people. Morocco refused "to look this reality in the face". The situation remained explosive and grave, but Morocco was incapable of overcoming the POLISARIO fighters.

Since 1966, he said, the General Assembly had affirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence. In the United Nations, Morocco had solemnly stated that it would recognize that right. Nothing could exonerate the Rabat regime for not honouring those commitments, he stated.

(END OF TAKE 5)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 6

Continuing, Mr. ABDALLAH, who said he represented the POLISARIO Front, observed that, if the United Nations did not end Morocco's criminal undertakings in a political situation, it would become a screen for Morocco's policies.

The International Court of Justice, he noted, had found no juridical link of sovereignty between Morocco or Mauritania with the Western Sahara, and had seen no reason for the non-implementation of the normal processes of decolonization.

Morocco, he said, had then resorted to force in an attempt to present the world with a fait accompli. But the aggressive troops, faced by the determination of the people, had failed to occupy Western Sahara. Morocco had also had to face a change of policy by Spain and Mauritania.

Morocco, he went on, had instituted collective reprisals, indiscriminate napalm bombings and concentration camps. There had been wholesale slaughter of thousands, including children, and bombing of refugee camps, he said.

Morocco and its accomplices, he said, had abused the international community for four years. They had claimed no war was going on; but a war was going on, and intensifying, and the colonial aggressor would suffer the fate of all colonial aggressors.

He said that the annexation of Western Sahara had forced Morocco to commit 40,000 troops against POLISARIO. The Moroccans were "digging their own graves".

(END OF TAKE 6)

Security Council
2111 Meeting (AM)

Press Release SC/4093
22 June 1979

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 7

The representative of POLISARIO, Mr. ABDALLAH, went on to say that POLISARIO had liberated most of Western Sahara. Morocco had had to resort to a policy of desperation.

He noted that 23 States recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, while some 100 States recognized POLISARIO as the legitimate representative of the people.

He said that POLISARIO was gaining more and more military victories and capturing weapons. "Morocco is our best arms supplier", he added.

He said that the situation had become unfrozen because of the cease-fire regarding Mauritania.

The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, he noted, now administered about two-thirds of its territory. Morocco's policy of invasion and annexation had failed, he declared.

POLISARIO, he said, "is entirely ready to meet with Morocco and Mauritania to attempt to find a political solution". But it would continue its legitimate defence if Morocco continued its policy of aggression, occupation and annexation.

"So long as Moroccan troops occupy a single inch of our territory, the fight will continue and we will attack the enemy wherever we can find him", he declared.

(END OF TAKE 7)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 8

ABDALLA SALEH ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) said that the question under discussion involved fraternal Arab parties "whose co-operation at this time is all too important to circumvent the notorious Camp David sell-out".

Even at this point, he said, Israeli war planes were bombarding the civilian population in southern Lebanon, while Zionist zealots were bulldozing Palestinian homes and establishing new alien settlements with the full support of the Israeli Government.

He had no doubt that certain imperialist circles were doing their utmost "to subvert the anti-Sadat, anti-Zionist Arab solidarity forged at the Baghdad summit". Certainly, the present debate did not serve either the Palestinian cause, or the well-being of his brothers in the Maghreb.

That was why, he said, it had been the overwhelming view of the Arab group that the present question be dealt with in another context. For somewhat similar reasons, the African Group had unsuccessfully tried to prevail on Morocco not to insist on the debate in the Security Council.

He believed the question before the Council was essentially one of decolonization. As such, it was now in the hands of an ad hoc committee established by the OAU, whose forthcoming summit conference would certainly tackle the problem of Western Sahara -- "which is the central issue in this conflict".

To present the issue as one of a conflict between Algeria and Morocco "is to ignore the most essential element in this regional polarization", he said. How could Algeria be accountable for incidents that took place 400 kilometres from its frontier -- incidents apparently caused by the daily confrontation between the Moroccan army and the POLISARIO forces?

His Government, he said, recognized POLISARIO as a genuine national liberation movement, and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic as an independent sovereign State.

He earnestly hoped that Morocco would do likewise, thus averting bloodshed among brothers, and containing the unnecessary regional confrontation between Arab States whose stability, prosperity and well-being were so intertwined, and whose common heritage and fraternal bonds were unshakeable by what he hoped were only passing incidents.

(END OF TAKE 8)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- TAKE 9

SID'AHMED OULD TAYA (Mauritania) said his Government had many times voiced its position on the Saharan issue, showing its will for peace and for better understanding in the region.

It had stretched forward a fraternal hand to all the peoples of the region, seeking restoration of peace.

Mauritania, he went on, had "embarked on a dynamics of peace in the region". It wanted to be a link between all the peoples in the area.

Unfortunately, however, there was mounting tension in north-western Africa and his country was much concerned.

It hoped for a just and lasting solution of all the problems of the area, and appealed to all the parties to refrain from any action that could jeopardize peace.

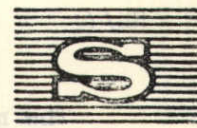
The PRESIDENT said he had no more speakers listed.

The next meeting on this question would take place at 3:30 p.m. on Monday, 25 June, he said.

The Council then adjourned at 12:50 p.m.

(END OF TAKE 9 AND PRESS RELEASE SC/4093)

UAFS
~~Mr. Norton~~



UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2152

21 June 1979

ENGLISH

935/28/2

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 21 June 1979, at 10.30 a.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. TROYANOVSKY	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
<u>Members:</u>	Bangladesh	Mr. KAISER
	Bolivia	Mr. PALACIOS DE VIZZIO
	China	Mr. CHOU NAN
	Czechoslovakia	Mr. HULINSKY
	France	Mr. LEPRETTE
	Gabon	Mr. N'DONG
	Jamaica	Mr. NEIL
	Kuwait	Mr. BISHARA
	Nigeria	Mr. ADEYEMI
	Norway	Mr. ALGARD
	Portugal	Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARD
	United States of America	Mr. McHENRY
	Zambia	Mr. LUSAKA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTERS DATED 13 JUNE 1979 AND 15 JUNE 1979 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/13394 and S/13397)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2151st meeting, I invite the representative of Morocco to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Algeria, Benin and Madagascar to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Filali (Morocco) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Bedjaoui (Algeria), Mr. Houngavou (Benin) and Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Mauritania and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Taya (Mauritania) and Mr. Buketi Bukayi Matulombe (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

Mr. BEDJAOU (Algeria) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, allow me on behalf of the delegation of Algeria to congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. It is for us a matter of satisfaction to note that with your guidance the Council has already successfully concluded debates on such important problems as the question of Cyprus and the deterioration of the situation in southern Lebanon as a result of the repeated acts of aggression of Israel. Despite the number of problems that remain to be discussed by the Council during this month of June, and in particular the question of Namibia, solution of which more than ever remains linked to the long-awaited decision on sanctions to be instituted by the Security Council against the illegal occupation régime of South Africa, we are confident that you will guide the present debate of the Council with the same prudence and wisdom, the same experience, that of an eminent and respected diplomat and the same authority in the promotion of the ideals of justice, peace and progress with which our Organization has been concerned since it came into being.

The Algerian delegation also wishes to congratulate your predecessor as President of the Security Council, Mr. Futscher Pereira, the Permanent Representative of Portugal to the United Nations. Mr. Futscher Pereira had to preside over the meetings of the month of May, and he did so with all the more competence and skill inasmuch as the informal consultations, which were as numerous as they were difficult, on the question of Namibia required of him endurance, ability and skill in conducting a dialogue that earned him the respect and esteem of all the Members of our Organization.

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Moreover, we cannot forget that he represents a country that had the courage and the merit of breaking with a very ancient colonial tradition, and which has presented to the international community an attractive picture of realism and of new relations among nations, on the basis, in particular, of strict respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

I should like at the very outset to express the Algerian delegation's satisfaction that I have been given this opportunity to address the council and to express Algeria's feelings about a question which, at least since 1966, has been of concern not only to my country but also to the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the non-aligned movement. I must say that, thanks to the efforts of the countries of the northwestern region of Africa - efforts which at that time were united and convergent - this question, that is, the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara, seemed to be a natural part of the application of a peaceful process. That was so because it is a fact that all the countries concerned, linked by relations of brotherhood and co-operation, had ensured that higher interests, in conformity with the nature of peoples and the ideals of the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, would prevail. That lofty view of matters was based on the constant recognition by everyone of this principle: the right to self-determination of a neighboring country in regard to which there had been a spontaneous manifestation of brotherly solidarity, forged in a common culture and a common experience of sacrifice and struggle.

Unfortunately, through an about-face rarely equalled in history, covetousness took the upper hand over obligations that had been undertaken - to the point that, regrettably, our region has been drawn into an adventure that has created tensions and fratricidal confrontations, of which the Sahraoui people have been the primary victims.

That is the focal point of the problem, but the desire today is to make us consider only the fall-out from that problem - a fall-out which is certainly explosive but which, examined outside the context, could divert the Council's attention from its responsibility of guaranteeing international

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peace and security. And in this specific case, that responsibility includes the effective exercise of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination - a right it has been recognized as having by our Organization and which only Morocco continues to ignore, thereby provoking constant tension in the region.

All the delegations have been conjecturing about the real meaning of Morocco's initiative in this Council. No one finds it justified by the recent fighting within Moroccan territory; because, on the one hand, this is not the first time that such operations have taken place and, on the other and above all, everyone knows that they are the inevitable result of a Moroccan policy of military occupation of the territory of the people of Western Sahara.

This Moroccan initiative has seemed even more surprising to a number of delegations because in two days there will be a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU, and in two weeks there will take place in Monrovia a summit conference of the OAU - and, decidedly, Morocco seems to pay only lip service to the recognition that those bodies will demonstrate the wisdom necessary to solve the explosive problem Morocco has created in the region through the occupation and partition of Western Sahara.

All the delegations, and principally those of the Arab and African Groups, tried to dissuade Morocco from bringing this matter before the Council. In that respect, it is a secret to no one that the African Group, in particular, made more than praiseworthy efforts to obtain Morocco's agreement not to take this action, which entailed the risk of offering the astonishing paradox of the Moroccan aggressor against the Sahraoui people being turned into the alleged victim of aggression today. The situation is clear. The Security Council adopted three resolutions in 1975 on this very matter, Western Sahara. In one of them, resolution 380 (1975), of 6 November 1975, the Council deplored Morocco's invasion of Western Sahara and, it will be remembered, called upon Morocco to withdraw immediately from that Territory. Having heeded neither the

Our concern is therefore legitimately increased by reason of the annexationist greed and the expansionist ambitions already achieved in some places and on the way to achievement elsewhere, thus creating a grave situation of conflict on the borders of Algeria which is dangerous for the peace and stability of the

requests nor the orders of the Council, Morocco comes back here four years later, as though justice demanded this. But it is not here to admit the tragic errors of a policy of annexation which the Council had already, in 1975, known was doomed to failure; it is here to ask the Council to follow it in its search - its vain search - for a scapegoat.

An aggressor claiming to be the victim of aggression, it wishes to add one more error to the error of 1975 - and it is hard to say which is the more tragic of the two - an error which in any case can bring chaos to the entire region.

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The international community is profoundly concerned at this repetition of political and military errors and this persistence in a disaster-seeking policy for which the Moroccan people and all the peoples of the region are made to pay.

I have too much respect for the exalted mission of this august Council to be led into a debate which has nothing to do with the substance of the problem which the delegation of Morocco has sought to cast aside. The problem is nothing other than a problem of decolonization concerning a specific and geographically well-defined territory, the Western Sahara, and a clearly identified people, the Sahraoui people.

All that was said yesterday to take the problem out of this context seems to me to have been a regrettable waste of time. There was a wild rush to mask the failure of an adventuristic policy of expansionism and a vain quest for a scapegoat to make others responsible for the political and military deadlock in which Morocco unhappily finds itself as a result of its occupation of a territory which is totally alien to it.

All that was heard yesterday can in no way alter the obstinate fact that Morocco remains an illegitimate military occupier which is stifling the voice of a martyr people fighting for its national independence.

The most elementary analysis, furthermore, requires that we should place the occupation of Western Sahara within the framework of a broader, planned scheme of regional expansionism that as such is all the more disquieting and intolerable. Moroccan expansionism since 1956 has never taken the trouble to disguise itself. Moroccan expansionism has now been revealed with all the political actions of the expansionists. Who does not recall the diplomatic battles and military skirmishes of the 1960s regarding the Moroccan claim to incorporate Mauritania itself? Who has been able to forget the notorious maps of "Greater Morocco" annexing part of Algeria, all of Western Sahara which was then under Spanish occupation, the entire territory of Mauritania, part of Mali and a part of Senegal itself?

Our concern is therefore legitimately increased by reason of the annexationist greed and the expansionist ambitions already achieved in some places and on the way to achievement elsewhere, thus creating a grave situation of conflict on the borders of Algeria which is dangerous for the peace and stability of the entire region.

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Each Member of the United Nations certainly has the right to request a meeting of the Security Council and it is certainly not in any way the intention of the Algerian delegation to deny that right to anyone. But the Moroccan delegation, which bases its action on what it claims is aggression by Algeria, while no material proof has been produced in support of that accusation, does not have the right either to waste the valuable time of the Security Council with an unfounded request or to attempt to divert the attention of the international community from the true facts of the question of Western Sahara. For in point of fact, as is well known, a diversionary scheme has been devised here at great expense to distract us from the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara. Thus, Algeria has been accused of militarily intervening in this affair in which occupiers and occupied are pitted against each other. Algeria cannot allow itself to be accused so lightly and inconsistently and the United Nations - and the Security Council in particular - cannot allow itself to be diverted by such a tactic which strives to bring it into a pernicious debate and to cause it to lose sight of the substance of the problem, which is and remains that of the decolonization of a territory and the self-determination of a people.

Mr. President, the Government of Morocco felt it necessary to address two letters to you which claim to report acts of war within the territory of Morocco and it is trying to place the blame on my country. The Permanent Representative of Algeria, in his letter of 16 June 1979, clearly and energetically refuted those gratuitous accusations. In its statement yesterday, as was to be expected, the delegation of Morocco was not able to support any of those claims. How can one then not be indignant at such a shocking attempt to divert the attention of the international community from the true facts of the problem and thus blame my country for the tragic consequences of acts of a policy of annexation and expansion.

The delegation of Morocco, which knows full well that the Algerian Army has never crossed the Algerian/Moroccan border, has mistaken its opponents, which it sometimes describes as "mercenary bands" and sometimes as "forces of aggression" so as not to have to name the fighters of the Frente POLISARIO, whose mastery in the field, military initiative and methods of combat enable

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them to extend the area of fighting into the very territory of the aggressor.¹ Perhaps we should recall that it was from that same town of Tan Tan that Morocco's aggressive expedition against the Sahraoui people set out in 1975. So who can, in good faith, reproach or blame men who are denied an internationally recognized right and who are the victims of a permanent aggression, for seeking to destroy the rearward bases of their adversaries and to weaken their logistical support?

Rather, we should see in these deeds proof that POLISARIO broadly controls the territory of Western Sahara, an important part of which it has effectively liberated and in which it has installed its own fighting bases. The acts of war reported by the Moroccan delegation, the mere listing of which curiously is enough in Morocco's eyes to implicate Algeria, are but tangible manifestations of the struggle for liberation of the people of Western Sahara.

Yesterday and which... the Moroccan Government... the definition of aggression... the use of armed force to deprive peoples, such as the people of Western Sahara, of their right to self-determination and independence.

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If there have been acts of aggression in the Western Sahara affair, they occurred when Morocco invaded the territory of the Sahraoui people, occupied it militarily and partitioned it. Now, General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), to which the Moroccan delegation referred yesterday, specifies that

"The territory of a colony or other Non-Self-Governing Territory has, under the Charter, a status separate and distinct ... [which] shall exist until the people of the colony or Non-Self-Governing Territory have exercised their right of self-determination in accordance with the Charter, and particularly its purposes and principles."

(General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex)

Thus violating this statute, which can be invoked against all comers, so long as the people of Sahara have not freely acceded to self-determination, the Moroccan Government invaded the territory. In so doing, it clearly contravened resolution 2625 (XXV), which the representative of Morocco very rashly quoted yesterday and which further specifies that:

"Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples ... of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence." (Ibid.)

Unfortunately for the Moroccan delegation, it could cite in support of its thesis only the texts of resolutions which incriminate rather than absolve the Moroccan Government. Resolution 2625 (XXV) was followed by resolution 3314 (XXIX), on the definition of aggression, which Morocco cited but which, again, condemns it. Not only does Morocco practise a policy of expansionism which it has vainly sought to have endorsed; what is more, it poses as the victim of aggression, whereas it obstinately persists in refusing to allow the people of Western Sahara to exercise its right to an independent existence. Indeed, ever since the very first day it assumed a grave responsibility by invading the territory of the Sahraoui people, Morocco could not be considered as anything but an aggressor State, with all the legal consequences of such a qualification, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. In particular, resolution 3314 (XXIX), of 14 December 1974, on the definition of aggression, considers as a case of flagrant aggression the use of armed force to deprive peoples, such as the people of Western Sahara, of their right to self-determination and independence.

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That same resolution 3314 (XXIX), echoing resolution 2625 (XXV), emphasizes the legitimacy of the support given to peoples which, like the people of Western Sahara, are fighting in such circumstances to win their right to self-determination against armies of invasion.

"... Such peoples [affirms resolution 2625 (XXV)] are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter." (Ibid.)

Hence the Sahraoui people has the right to turn to the Security Council and to call on it for support in order to repulse its aggressors and to achieve its independence.

Now, what does Morocco do? In a demonstration of astounding blindness, it describes that people and its legitimate and exclusive representative, the Frente POLISARIO, as "a band of mercenaries" armed by Algeria. And at the same time, by absurdly and ineffectively lumping everything together, Morocco believes, on the one hand, that it can rid itself of the question of the decolonization of Western Sahara, whose territory it has annexed and whose people it is muzzling, denying the existence of its legitimate representatives, and, on the other hand, that it can blame Algeria for the desperately grave situation into which it has plunged the region as a result of the mistakes of a sinister policy doomed by history to failure.

And yet Morocco seeks to buttress its position by citing resolutions 2625 (XXV) and 3314 (XXIX), which clearly point out to it the limits beyond which it cannot go without becoming an aggressor State.

The Security Council, in November 1975, called on Morocco to withdraw from the Western Sahara. Seven months later, the Organization of African Unity, in turn, taking up where the Security Council left off, by the resolution adopted by the Council of African Ministers at its session in Port-Louis in June 1976, demanded:

"the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces of occupation and respect for the territorial integrity of the Western Sahara and for the national sovereignty of the Sahracui people". (S/12141, annex I, para. 4)

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In its statement yesterday the Moroccan delegation, with consummate scorn, reduced the Sahraoui people and its legitimate and exclusive representative, the POLISARIO, to "bands of mercenaries". Have the international community, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries thus made a gross mistake in recognizing the right to self-determination of Western Sahara, its territory and its people and representatives? By thus insulting that people and its representatives, has not the Moroccan delegation impugned the honour of the international community, which only yesterday at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, vigorously reaffirmed the right of the people of Western Sahara to independence and welcomed the cease-fire unilaterally decreed by POLISARIO so as to start a peace process in the region?

Did not a Moroccan magazine closely associated with the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP), Lamali, in its issue No. 103 of last January, just after the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, characterize these results as a total failure of Moroccan policy?

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The Council has taken the decision to hear Mr. Madjid Abdallah, the representative of the POLISARIO in New York. He is one of those described by the delegation of Morocco as a "band of mercenaries". I leave it to members to judge the esteem the delegation of Morocco has for the Council.

From what I have set forth before the Council since the beginning of my statement, it is clear that Morocco, which does not stop at demonstrating the existence of facts for which it falsely blames Algeria, is deliberately mixing up different things. The goal it seeks is clear. By invoking what it claims is a legitimate right of self-defence without previously demonstrating the existence of an attack on the part of Algeria, Morocco is trying to justify in advance an act of aggression it is preparing against my country. Taking refuge behind Article 51 of the Charter, which manifestly does not apply in this case, Morocco is preparing to commit armed aggression against Algeria, thus violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, adding to the aggression committed against the Sahraoui people since 1975 a further aggression against a neighbouring State, and assuming the historical responsibility for unleashing a conflict with incalculable consequences for the security and stability of a large part of the African continent.

Invoking Article 51 of the Charter, which permits the exercise of the right of legitimate self-defence, is here as inappropriate and unjustified as the so-called "right of hot pursuit" with which Morocco is threatening Algeria. The right of hot pursuit, which cannot be dissociated from colonialism, is directly linked in its manifestations to the pouncings of occupying forces in reaction to national liberation struggles. It is one of the intolerable semblances of legality which colonialism tries to impose, conferring legal validity on all forms of violence in opposition to the emancipation movement of peoples. Having been rejected along with other errors of the past, the right to hot pursuit is now being resurrected and therefore given another lease of life, thanks, unfortunately, to Morocco. A favourite weapon of the colonial forces of the past, and now a preferred

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instrument of violence for Israel and the racist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes against the peoples of Lebanon, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola, the right of hot pursuit is a prime example of an act of "deliberate and premeditated armed aggression", in the words of the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Mongi Slim, to the Security Council on 2 June 1958. The right of hot pursuit, a dusty argument of the colonial Powers which Morocco has pulled out of the imperialist legal scrap-heap to invoke against Algeria, recalls to us the horrors of the massacre of thousands of innocent civilians in southern Africa, victims of haughty white racist power.

Morocco is seeking no more and no less than to have the Council legitimize and legalize this deadly right of hot pursuit. In so doing, Morocco is striving to liquidate Sahraoui resistance and at the same time trying to provide South Africa and Rhodesia with a legal precedent to allow them to attack front-line countries such as Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana and to permit Israel to attack the PLO with impunity in Lebanon.

What Morocco threatens to unleash against my country is nothing but an attempt to justify the extermination of any national liberation movement wherever it is, while at the same time seeking to destabilize the countries which offer asylum and assistance to these national liberation movements. In behaving in this manner Morocco, whether voluntarily or not, is joining the camp of the aggressor régimes in southern Africa, which regularly undertake the same kind of reprisals against the front-line countries of Africa - particularly, I repeat, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola - which are also accused of coming to the assistance of national liberation movements.

By coming to justify in advance its aggression against my country Morocco is at the same time giving an additional argument to these régimes of southern Africa, just as it is providing additional satisfaction to Israel, in their respective actions of reprisals against the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the PLO. My delegation wishes to declare this here before the Security Council, which has already had on several occasions to consider complaints of countries such as Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Lebanon the victims of aggression.

(Mr. Bedjaoui, Algeria)

(Mr. Bedjaoui, Algeria)

The step taken by Morocco is part and parcel of the logic of rushing to escape one's responsibilities, and this is serious. In his message of 4 October 1978 addressed to the Moroccan Head of State, a copy of which was addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Head of the Algerian State declared:

"... I can assure Your Majesty, in the name of the indissoluble bonds which will always exist between our two peoples, that no Algerian soldier has ever crossed the national frontiers, particularly those which we agreed upon together in 1972. Moreover, only a few months ago, I solemnly declared before the People's National Assembly that the Algerian armed forces would not in any case intervene beyond our frontiers and that, vigilant guardians of our national sovereignty and territorial integrity, they would stand by to repel any attack against our country. This policy remains unchanged." (A/33/289, annex, p. 2)

In the circumstances, Algeria places on the authorities of Morocco total responsibility for the inevitable consequences which would flow from the violation of our frontiers, just as the President of the Republic of Algeria recalled once more in his message of 9 June last to the President of the Sudan, Acting Chairman of the OAU. It is in these circumstances also that on the same day, 9 June, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria addressed, in the same spirit, a message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Morocco is now claiming to be the defender of principles of international law. As I recalled earlier, we have also heard them refer to certain important texts which our Organization has drafted for the benefit of peoples and of which it can be justly proud. But the delegation of Morocco was very selective in the reading of those texts. Allow me, in the context of what concerns us, to put before the Moroccan delegation for further consideration a paragraph of one of the declarations which is quoted. The following is paragraph 18 of resolution XXV, entitled "Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security":

"... international peace and security."

Thus the relationship between foreign domination and threats to international peace and security is clearly perceived.

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In addition to the order given by the King of Morocco to his armed forces to exercise their so-called right of hot pursuit, there are now the letters of 13 and 15 June in which Morocco brings before the Security Council its complaint of an alleged aggression, thus clearly revealing the Moroccan plan, which casts threats of exceptional gravity over Algeria and the region.

It is really quite easy to unmask what we must call the Moroccan manoeuvre of which they have tried to make the Security Council itself a witness. The proof which the representative of Morocco has attempted to set before us is really a rather thin veil through which we can clearly perceive the true problem of the Western Sahara, a problem of decolonization frustrated, the struggle for freedom of the Sahraoui people which the Moroccan authorities find it increasingly difficult to conceal from their own people and in which the royal army suffers with increasing hardship.

So blatantly to attack Algeria and accuse it of aggression is a means as deplorable as it is vain of falsifying the facts and making another country bear the responsibility for the original crime of which Morocco is guilty in invading Western Sahara - thus defying the Security Council - occupying and partitioning its territory and then annexing it - in defiance of all the relevant decisions of the international community and of all the principles on which our action, our work and the existence of our Organization are based.

Morocco is now claiming to be the defender of principles of international law. As I recalled earlier, we have also heard them refer to certain important texts which our Organization has drafted for the benefit of peoples and of which it can be justly proud. But the delegation of Morocco was very selective in its reading of those texts. Allow me, in the context of what concerns us, to put before the Moroccan delegation for further consideration a paragraph of one of the Declarations which it quoted. The following is paragraph 18 of resolution 2734 (XXV), entitled "Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security":

... which has already had on several occasions to consider complaints of countries such as Tunisia, Angola, Mozambique and Lebanon the victims of aggression.

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"Calls upon all States to desist from any forcible or other action which deprives peoples, in particular those still under colonial or any other form of external domination, of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence and to refrain from military and repressive measures aimed at preventing the attainment of independence by all dependent peoples in accordance with the Charter and in furtherance of the objectives of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, and render assistance to the United Nations and, in accordance with the Charter, to the oppressed peoples in their legitimate struggle in order to bring about the speedy elimination of colonialism or any other form of external domination."

Likewise, resolution 3314 (XXIX), which the delegation of Morocco recalled and to which I too have referred, as it contains a definition of aggression, deserves more thorough consideration by the delegation of Morocco, particularly the provision on the duty of States not to resort to the use of armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence and the provision which recognizes the right of peoples subject to colonial and racist régimes and other forms of foreign domination to seek support in their struggle.

His Excellency the Minister of the Cherifian Kingdom also referred to the resolution by which the United Nations marked and celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization, that is, resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, which contains the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

May I remind the Council of the most relevant provisions which have bearing on the problem of the decolonization of Western Sahara which is at the core of the crisis from which the region has been suffering for four years. The Declaration provides that

"... the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a major obstacle to the promotion of international peace and security."

Thus the relationship between foreign domination and threats to international peace and security is clearly perceived.

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can also remind Morocco that the primary cause of the tension in the region is this military occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco.

That same resolution recalls that the right of peoples to self-determination is a fundamental principle which is not to be breached and that

"... its effective application is of paramount importance for the promotion of friendly relations among States..."

Various resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries have called on Morocco to implement that provision and finally allow the Sahraoui people to exercise its right to self-determination. It is the fact that for four years Morocco has not budged and has refused to recognize that the Sahraoui people has that right in accordance with the terms of the resolution that I have quoted and which Morocco too has quoted, which hinders the promotion of friendly relations among States in the region and constitutes the "major obstacle", as the resolution states, to the attainment of peace and security in north-west Africa.

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It is also the same resolution that specifies, for the benefit of Morocco which unfortunately has forgotten it, that

"Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples ... of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence" (Ibid., annex)

as has happened today in the case of the people of Western Sahara.

We could go on with this exercise for a long time and in greater detail regarding all the texts quoted by Morocco. It would prove its rather bizarre reading and selective understanding of such important documents. Yet I have no doubt that the members of this body, having been to the highest degree involved in their drafting, are fully aware of the significance and meaning of the texts and therefore cannot be imposed upon.

Algeria has never committed any of the acts of which it has been so lightly accused by Morocco and there is no proof of the deeds of which we have been accused because they did not take place. Indeed, Algeria has no reason to embark on so irresponsible an adventure against a neighbouring country. Since 1975 and the military occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania, Algeria has maintained its composure and kept calm even when the threats and provocations which replaced the invective brought forth by political frustration, became clearer. But Algeria wishes to reaffirm once again that it has never departed from its duty to provide support, assistance to and solidarity with the peoples that are struggling for their national rights, and we deeply regret to see that our erstwhile brothers in arms are turning their backs on the heritage of a common struggle to take up where the aggressors left off and to deny the existence of another brother people, which we were all hastening to welcome into the Maghreb family.

Algeria worked tirelessly in order that Morocco should recognize the official existence of Mauritania that for many long years, it denied, and we might be right in not despairing of that same Morocco's one day recognizing, elsewhere than on the battlefield, the existence of the Sahraoui people.

In this respect, the attitude of the new leaders of Mauritania provides for us - at least, we hope - a reason to believe in the future of our region, provided that their example is clearly understood. And when there is talk of the fraternal feeling among the peoples of the Maghreb - as there was yesterday -

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it should be of a brotherhood, that had its roots in history and that must always be based on respect for the independence of each people whatever may be the size of its territory or of its population. In no way can recalling history serve to justify annexation and occupation.

Morocco has consistently opposed and considered null and void all United Nations initiatives and decisions aimed at guaranteeing to the people of Western Sahara satisfaction of their national fundamental rights. Thus, for example, the mission entrusted by the United Nations to Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden could not be successfully concluded because of Rabat's refusal to receive the Representative of the Secretary-General.

It is thus, it would seem to us, that the Security Council could usefully examine the consequences for peace and security in the region flowing from the persistent refusal of Morocco - in contrast to Mauritania, it would seem - to implement the decisions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the United Nations regarding the self-determination of the Sahraoui people.

Morocco pretends that it wants to refer the matter of Western Sahara to the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU, according to what its representative said. According to the terms of the resolution adopted at Khartoum last July by the African Heads of State, this Committee must gather "all the facts on the question of Western Sahara" including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination", in order to allow "the convening of a special summit to deal with this question of Western Sahara". It seems that Morocco has suddenly discovered the virtues of the wisdom of the OAU and its organs. And yet it is Morocco which has always systematically obstructed any action on the part of the OAU. It is Morocco which left the room at the African summit held in Port-Louis in 1976 when the Heads of State decided to convene a special summit devoted to the question of Western Sahara. It was Morocco again which, in the course of the last two sessions of the General Assembly, sought to prevent the General Assembly from debating the question of Western Sahara. And it was Morocco which, last year at Belgrade and recently at Colombo, in the non-aligned movement, tried to delete that item from the agenda of our debates, claiming that the Ad Hoc Committee was seized of the matter, but without doing anything to facilitate the task of the OAU for almost four years or that of

(Mr. Bedjaoui, Algeria)

Thus, despite the statements, dictated by political opportunism, in favour of the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, the "closed-file" argument that is always invoked by Morocco is tantamount to a refusal to seek any solution apart from annexation and partition.

Yesterday it affirmed that it had submitted a request concerning "a specific time and place". By limiting its request to that specific time and place, Morocco was trying artificially to isolate from their context the most recent manifestations of the struggle waged by the Frente POLISARIO since the Moroccan troops invaded the territory of Western Sahara. According to that approach, the Council was supposed to concentrate on the events that have taken place within the internationally recognized borders of Morocco. Indeed, the representative of Morocco specified that he was referring to localities completely outside Western Sahara. Even though Morocco persists in considering a part of the territory it occupies by force a Saharan province, it is worth pointing out that it itself makes a distinction between what I would call the metropolis and the colony, thus following a logic familiar to us all: the logic of colonial Powers.

Nevertheless, one State that was a party to that partition now recognizes that the tension in the region has as its real cause the violation of the principle of self-determination, and the policy of military fait accompli. This healthy awareness and the willingness proclaimed by Mauritania to begin by dialogue and negotiation to make up for the damage caused to the people of Western Sahara, thus provide a response to the initiative for a cease-fire taken by the Frente POLISARIO in July 1978.

We must also point out at the same time the clearer and more consistent attitude adopted by the former administering Power which, by recognizing the Frente POLISARIO as the legitimate representative of the Sahraoui people, has recalled the urgent need to ensure for that people the exercise of its right to self-determination.

In this context, which is favourable to the search for a peaceful solution, the Organization of African Unity has also been able to regain the initiative to undertake its mission through the Ad Hoc Committee, set up at the Khartoum Summit, to guarantee the application of the principle of self-determination for the benefit of the people of Western Sahara.

(Mr. Bedjaoui, Algeria)

Algeria wishes to emphasize that the problem of Western Sahara is a political problem that calls for a political solution. That solution has been the subject of thorough debates both regionally and internationally, debates in which it was clearly established that the only basis for a solution are serious guarantees of the effective implementation of the fundamental right to self-determination by means of a free and authentic referendum.

Algeria makes a solemn and urgent appeal to the Security Council to exercise all its authority, power and prestige so as to make a decisive contribution to the multiple efforts to bring back peace to north-west Africa, a peace based on the right of the Western Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

To safeguard peace and security in our region, the Security Council must also likewise seriously warn Morocco against any new attempt to have the international community as a whole set the Saharan question aside. Morocco must be warned of the dangerous and dramatic consequences of its declarations and threats against Algeria.

Algeria has always adamantly defended its sovereignty, its security and the integrity of its territory. Accordingly, we shall take all measures that may be required by any situation, and we shall meet any aggression.

While this is a particularly grave time, Algeria will maintain that calm that arises from its sense of responsibility and its faith in the common destiny of the peoples of the region. We wish members of the Security Council to witness our message.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the representative of Algeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. I would ask those delegations that wish to participate in the debate to submit their names so that we can complete this debate soon.

With the consent of the Council, the next meeting of the Security Council to examine this item will take place tomorrow, 22 June, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RR ALGIERS/75 PARIS EMB/583

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R E S T R I C T E D

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL : MOROCCON COMPLAINT

SINCE THE FORMAL CIRCULATION OF MOROCCO'S REQUEST THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEET TO CONSIDER ALGERIAN AGGRESSION REPORTED IN OUR REFTEL THERE HAS BEEN A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN NEW YORK ON THE ISSUE. ON 18 JUNE ALGERIA CIRCULATED A RESPONSE TO MOROCCO'S CHARGES, WHICH IT REJECTED AS 'ENTIRELY GROUNDLESS' AND DESIGNED 'SOLELY TO DIVERT THE ATTENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FROM THE BASIC FACTS OF THE QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA', (VIZ THAT IT IS SOLELY A QUESTION OF DECOLONISATION).

2. THE AFRICAN GROUP MET A NUMBER OF TIMES TO SEE IF THE MATTER COULD BE HANDLED OUTSIDE THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT TO NO AVAIL. AT MOROCCO'S INSISTENCE THE COUNCIL FINALLY MET ON 20 JUNE TO HEAR A STATEMENT BY BOUCETTA, MINISTER OF STATE IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND CO-OPERATION OF MOROCCO.

3. ARMED WITH MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS BOUCETTA ARGUED THAT AS SPECIFIC ACTS OF AGGRESSION HAD TAKEN PLACE AT TAN-TAN, TAKAYA, ZAG AND ASSA, WHICH WERE 'COMPLETELY OUTSIDE OUR SAHARAN PROVINCES', IT WAS MISLEADING, CONFUSING AND 'POLITICALLY OPPORTUNISTIC' OF ALGERIA TO SUGGEST THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH THE SAHARAN DISPUTE. BOUCETTA WARNED THAT ANY FUTURE ACTS OF AGGRESSION WOULD BE RESPONDED TO, BOTH WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF MOROCCO.

4. WHEN THE COUNCIL NEXT MET ON 21 JUNE, ALGERIA RESPONDED. THE PRESENT SITUATION, BEDJOAUI (ALGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO PARIS AND MEMBER OF THE ILC) ARGUED HAD ARISEN SOLELY FROM THE COLONIALIST POLICIES THAT MOROCCO WAS PURSUING IN THE SAHARA. MOROCCO'S THREAT OF ENGAGING IN 'HOT PURSUIT' ONLY PUT THEM IN THE SAME CATEGORY AS ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA. SEMICHI (ALGERIA) TOLD US THAT ALGERIA WOULD ENDEAVOUR TO DRAG THE DEBATE OUT FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. CLEARLY THE AIM IS THAT BY DOING SO THE QUESTION WILL BE OBFUSCATED AND THE PURPOSE OF THE DEBATE COULD EVEN BE TURNED. AT THIS POINT THERE IS NO TALK OF ANY RESOLUTION.

.../2

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN14560

5. DEBATE WILL CONTINUE WITH A STATEMENT BY THE POLISARIO FRONT ON
22 JUNE.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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ACTION: IO

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UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2151
20 June 1979

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 20 June 1979, at 4.30 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. TROYANOVSKY	(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
<u>Members:</u>	Bangladesh	Mr. KAISER
	Bolivia	Mr. PALACIOS DE VIZZIO
	China	Mr. CHOU NAN
	Czechoslovakia	Mr. HULINSKY
	France	Mr. LEPRETTE
	Gabon	Mr. N'DONG
	Jamaica	Mr. NEIL
	Kuwait	Mr. BISHARA
	Nigeria	Mr. BLANKSON
	Norway	Mr. ALGÅRD
	Portugal	Mr. FUTSCHER PEREIRA
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARD
	United States of America	Mr. McHENRY
	Zambia	Mr. LUSAKA

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the Security Council.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room A-3550, 866 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTERS DATED 13 JUNE 1979 AND 15 JUNE 1979 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/13394 and S/13397)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Benin, Madagascar and Morocco, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Boucetta (Morocco) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. Hounouvou (Benin) and Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I should like to inform the Council that I have received today a letter from the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Benin, Burundi, the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Guyana, Madagascar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and the United Republic of Tanzania, which reads as follows:

"We have the honour to inform you that we support the request addressed to you by a member of the Frente POLISARIO, Mr. Madjid Abdallah, to be heard by the Security Council, in accordance with rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, during the meeting which is to be held at the request of the Permanent Representative of Morocco.

"We would ask you to be so kind as to distribute the present letter as well as that of Mr. Madjid Abdallah as an official document of the Security Council."

This letter will be circulated as Security Council document S/13406. I should also like to inform the members of the Council that I have received the letter referred to therein.

Do any members of the Council wish to make any observations in connexion with this request?

Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (interpretation from French): The Gabonese delegation attaches great importance to the valuable information that any qualified person may place before the Security Council in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. Nevertheless, with regard to the item before us, I should like to say that my delegation, although not opposed to hearing the speaker, would simply like to enter reservations with respect to the capacity in which he would speak in question.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): The remarks made by the representative of Gabon have been noted.

I take it that the Council agrees to invite Mr. Abdallah to make a statement under the provisions of rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure at the appropriate time.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request by the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations, which is contained in his letters dated 13 and 15 June 1979 addressed to the President of the Security Council and issued in documents S/13394 and S/13397, respectively.

Members of the Council also have before them the text of a letter from the Deputy Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, dated 16 June 1979, addressed to the President of the Security Council, which is contained in document S/13399.

(The President)

The first speaker is the Minister of State in Charge of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Morocco, His Excellency Mr. M'hammed Boucetta. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. BOUCETTA (Morocco) (interpretation from French):

Mr. President, the delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco wishes first to express its satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the deliberations of the Security Council on a question as vital and crucial as this one, which concerns the safeguarding of the security of our country. Your wisdom, your open-mindedness and your acute sense of justice are for us a guarantee that there will be a serious and thorough examination of the problem that is today before the Security Council. It also happens that you are the representative of a country with which Morocco has the most cordial and fruitful relations based on trust, friendship, mutual respect and close co-operation in various fields.

My delegation also wishes to express its appreciation and its gratitude to all members of this Council for the diligence with which they have responded to the Moroccan request. In so doing, they have recognized the seriousness of the moment and have shown that they are ready to face up to their responsibilities.

In appealing to the Security Council today, Morocco, pursuant to Article 35 of the Charter of our Organization, is submitting a clear, precise request concerning incidents at a specific time and place.

In effect, Morocco has for some time been the victim of deliberate acts of aggression, acts known to all, against its national territory committed by armed bands from Algeria that return to Algeria once they have committed their crimes.

This is a particularly serious time, and the situation is very grave. We are sincerely concerned and feel compelled to say that we find ourselves, practically speaking, on the eve of a bloody and tragic confrontation between two neighbouring countries, a confrontation that may degenerate into a widespread conflict the dimensions of which cannot be foreseen.

How is it that Morocco and Algeria, two countries that should aim at co-operation and friendship, two countries that are linked by their history and geography, that share a common destiny and that belong to the same civilization, are today on the brink of a fratricidal unjustifiable war?

The Algerian Government has for some time been responsible for the launching of attacks by armed gangs against our national territory and against the security of our citizens. If we have come to the Council today it is because we feel compelled to do so. It should be recognized that thus far we have shown patience, restraint and wisdom. But that patience, that restraint and that

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

wisdom have not been rewarded. Our attitude has been interpreted as a manifestation of weakness on our part.

Out of respect for international legality, and desiring not to overdramatize a situation unduly, we initially felt satisfied with merely informing the Secretary-General of the importance and seriousness of the situation, without wishing to bring a formal complaint to the Security Council. In this regard I would refer to our letter distributed in document A/33/284 of 4 October 1978. We have, then, tried to exhaust other means before coming to address the United Nations organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. But, in view of the deterioration of the situation and the recent developments, we have thought it indispensable to come to the Council with the problem. In truth, what country in the world could stand idly by while another country violates its frontiers, destroys its property and kills its citizens?

Just imagine: the number of deaths so far is 328. Just imagine: the number of wounded is 251. Just imagine: the number of missing persons is 122. That is the present situation.

The Council will surely agree with us that this situation has become intolerable.

To cite just the most recent acts of aggression - and that is the purpose of our complaint to the Security Council today - on the night of 31 May-1 June 1979 a column of the Moroccan army was attacked while it was proceeding from the town of Tan-Tan to the town of Tarfaya. There were three deaths, eight persons reported missing and 42 wounded, not to speak of considerable material damage.

On the night of 4 June 1979, while His Majesty the King of Morocco, King Hassan II, was receiving Mr. Edem Kodjo, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, in order to inform him about Algerian aggression and the deliberate violation of Moroccan national territory, the town of Assa, in the province of Goulimine, was attacked. There were 25 deaths, 9 persons reported missing and 13 wounded. Among the victims were civilians who had been peacefully going about their business.

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

I have distributed maps so that the representatives may find the precise locations of these places, some on the Algerian frontier and some inside our country, at its centre, a fact which is characteristic of the question we have brought to the Council today.

At the very time when we were bringing our request to the Council, a third act of aggression was committed in the same region - on the night of 13-14 June 1979. That is a real act of defiance against the Council and to the United Nations.

I should like to transmit to members a list of the victims so that the Council may appreciate the seriousness of the problem. The problem is an extremely serious one. There have been deaths and woundings; children have been killed; women have been killed; peaceful inhabitants of the region have been attacked and killed. The list is lengthy. I should not like to impose upon the Council a reading of that list. But I do wish to draw attention to the persons who have been victims of these acts of aggression. It will be seen that there are children among them, and women, and elderly persons. It will also be noted that there has been material damage; the property of civilians has been damaged or destroyed. From the photographs that I shall submit to the Council and to the Secretariat, it will also be noted that heavy weapons were used - sophisticated weapons, missiles, tanks and armaments of various types. From the photographs the Council and the Secretariat will ascertain the importance of what I am saying. Those are not the kinds of weapons that would be found in the hands of guerrillas, if any existed in the region; they could only belong to a regular army, an army that has sophisticated weapons at its disposition.

This is the best illustration of the seriousness of the acts of aggression committed by the Algerian Government against the territory of a country that is a Member of the United Nations - Morocco, which has on many occasions demonstrated its commitment to peace and to the principles and ideals of our Organization.

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

There is no doubt that Algeria's responsibility for those acts of aggression is total. Those attacks were committed by bands which have been recruited, equipped, armed, trained and financed by the Algerian authorities, protected in Algerian sanctuaries after having left Algerian territory.

Our Organization, on the basis of the principles embodied in the Charter, had repeatedly given its views on this case. Indeed, the United Nations General Assembly has, in numerous declarations, adopted appropriate provisions condemning such practices in relations among States; it has even termed them crimes against international peace and security. At this stage I merely wish to draw attention in particular to three documents of crucial importance: first, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted on 24 October 1970, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Organization; second, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted on 16 December 1970; and, third, the resolution containing the definition of aggression, adopted on 14 December 1974.

All those documents reaffirm the principles of international law which should govern relations among sovereign, independent States. They relate to strict respect for the obligation to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other States. Respect for those principles is the essential condition for the maintenance of peace among nations. Those international instruments unambiguously affirm that the practice of intervention in any form whatever is not only a violation of the spirit and letter of the Charter but also tends to create situations which endanger international peace and security.

Furthermore, the aforementioned three declarations in a similar manner recall the duty of States to refrain from recourse to the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

other States. Such action is considered to be a crime against peace. Finally, those three documents not only define general principles but also define cases of aggression in precise terms.

One of those cases is the sending of armed bands or mercenaries from the national territory of a State to attack the territorial integrity of another State. That is specifically included in article 3 (g) of the annex to General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX), adopted on 14 December 1974, which includes the definition of aggression. Paragraph 1 of article 5 of that same instrument sets forth the following:

"No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression."

The Declaration annexed to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) establishes that States are in duty bound

"... to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts..."

As we have just seen, substantive international law leaves nothing unclear; it deals with the same specific cases of aggression that we have brought today before this Council. It clearly stems from it that under no pretext should a State finance, arm or lead gangs against the territorial integrity of another State sowing death and destruction.

Consequently, Algeria cannot adduce any justification for such acts. Its attitude is all the more serious and unjustifiable in that the Government alleges that it does not have any dispute with Morocco. The Government of Algeria should therefore revise its present policy, the consequences of which are pregnant with threats and dangers for peace and security in the region.

We wish to reaffirm for our part that, despite everything, we continue to believe that the construction of the Maghreb is not only a duty for us all but, in our view, is also part of the common destiny of the States of our region.

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

Loyal to that constant principle of our policy and our own traditions, we have retained our composure and held to an exemplary position in the face of the attacks perpetrated against us, since we are convinced of the virtue of dialogue and of the need for the peaceful settlement of any dispute between States. I reaffirm here that my country has always preserved its unswerving faith in the capacity of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the United Nations and the Arab League to put an end to such acts of aggression.

In the two messages which our Sovereign, His Majesty King Hassan II, addressed successively to His Excellency Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, President of the Republic of the Sudan and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, after the acts of aggression by Algeria which took place on 31 May and 4 June 1979, respectively and which are the subject of our complaint to the Council, we reaffirmed Morocco's desire for peace and its complete readiness to endeavour to put an end to the state of tension in the region. In his first message, His Majesty stated the following:

"We had hoped to encounter the same desire and the same readiness on the other side. Showing great self-restraint, Morocco refrained from any action so as to confirm its desire for peace and, above all, so as not to give Algeria the slightest pretext to justify its bad cause."

(A/34/317, annex I, p. 1)

Furthermore, Morocco has always been ready to accept the praiseworthy efforts of mediation made within an Arab, African or international context. Morocco has spared no efforts to see to it that attempts are made to clear the atmosphere among the States of the region and to restore a climate of friendship and co-operation among them.

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

To this constant desire for peace and harmony that Morocco has always sincerely displayed, the Algerian Government has responded in the manner of which we are all aware.

In the face of such an attitude we must therefore say that our patience does not impair our resolve to defend our sovereignty, our territorial integrity and the security of our citizens and of their property.

This is, in fact, the sacred duty of any State worthy of the name.

The exercise of self-defence is an inherent right recognized in international law and embodied in the Charter of our Organization, particularly in its Article 51. In application of these rules of law, my country, which continually suffers from acts of aggression for which the Algerian Government is solely responsible, will pursue the aggressors wherever they may be found. We forcefully affirm that Algeria must assume full responsibility for any situation that may emerge. As was stressed by His Majesty Hassan II in his second message to President Nimeiri.

"Whatever may happen later will be beyond our control. It will be the bitter fruit of the persistence of others in their error and arrogance".

(A/34/317, annex II, p. 2)

In having recourse today to the Security Council, Morocco fosters the hope that the irreparable may be averted. This hope is based on the virtue we recognize in the peaceful settlement of disputes whatever may be their nature. We trust that the Security Council of the United Nations will condemn the aggressions against our country and to adopt the relevant measures to prevent their repetition.

As we have stated before, the situation is an extremely serious one. From one moment to the next, it is in danger of degenerating into an armed conflict with unforeseeable consequences. This is why speedy action by the Security Council is needed. The Security Council must take note of these acts of aggression, condemn them and use its prerogatives under the Charter to put an end to them once and for all. Because we respect the Charter of the United Nations, we wish to preserve peace in our region and to safeguard the security of a State Member of our Organization.

(Mr. Doucetta, Morocco)

Before I conclude my statement, I should like to add a few words that I consider necessary so as to eliminate any ambiguity and to clear up any confusion that has been deliberately created since yesterday and the day before in the corridors of the Security Council. Tan-Tan, Tarfaya, Zag and Asso - places that I mentioned earlier in my statement and that appear indicated by numbers on the map and that were the targets of attacks whose circumstances I have briefly recounted - are completely outside our Saharan provinces - what was formerly known as the Territory of Western Sahara - a territory where the international responsibilities of Spain came to an end on 26 February 1976. Here is the map to make this matter perfectly clear.

The confusion that our adversaries are attempting to create consists in their saying that the problem is one of tension, tension, incidentally, that they themselves have created, that has been rife there since that region was decolonized; that the problem is before the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that the Heads of State belonging to that organization have set up an ad hoc committee to deal with it and that, therefore, the OAU should be the only body seized of the matter.

Must I recall that this is a political, opportunistic argument, since only a few weeks ago, in the non-aligned movement as in the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, it was our opponents who endeavoured to show that OAU could not be the only body to defend certain principles and that that organization could not be the only one to study this matter?

Today, this Council is seized of a certain number of deliberate acts of aggression - and in particular those committed on the nights of 31 May-1 June and 4 June 1979 - which, strictly speaking, have no connexion with the problem before the OAU.

Furthermore, upon the commission of those acts of aggression, Morocco immediately informed His Excellency Mohamed Gaafar Nimeiri, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Mr. Edem Kodjo, Secretary-General of our regional organization, who was in Morocco at the time the attacks took place.

I wished to draw attention to this confusion deliberately created in an attempt to oppose consideration of this question by this Council. I also wished to bring forth these clarifications in the hope of allaying any doubt that may exist in the minds of our brothers and friends of our African family.

(Mr. Boucetta, Morocco)

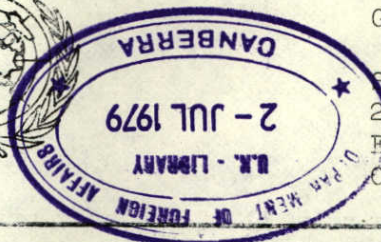
My country remains at the service of this Council to facilitate any investigation that it may consider necessary to undertake in order to ascertain the veracity of the facts and to implement any measure it may deem useful to adopt to end these acts of aggression, which constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and which create an extremely serious situation in our region, thus gravely jeopardizing international peace and security.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Russian): I thank the Minister of State of Morocco for the kind words he addressed to me and about my country.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

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UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/13406
20 June 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 20 JUNE 1979 FROM THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
AFGHANISTAN, ALGERIA, BENIN, BURUNDI, CONGO, EQUATORIAL
GUINEA, ETHIOPIA, GUYANA, MADAGASCAR, RWANDA, SAO TOME
AND PRINCIPE AND THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

935/28/2

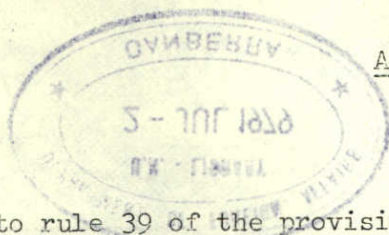
We have the honour to inform you that we support the request addressed to you by Mr. Madjid Abdallah, a member of the Polisario Front, for permission to make a statement in the Security Council, pursuant to rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, at the meeting which is to be held at the request of the Permanent Representative of Morocco.

We should be grateful if you would have this letter and that of Mr. Madjid Abdallah circulated as a Security Council document.

Signed by the representatives of the following States:

Afghanistan
Algeria
Benin
Burundi
Congo
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Guyana
Madagascar
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
United Republic of Tanzania

S/13406
English
Page 2



Annex

Mr. President,

Referring to rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure, I have the honour to request you to permit me to make a statement in the Security Council at the meeting which is to be held at the request of the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations.

New York, 20 June 1979

(Signed) Madjid ABDALLAH
Polisario Front

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFIDENTIAL

FILE COPY

DATE: 19 June 1979

INFORMATION. NEW YORK UN

DOCUMENT
REFERENCE

M. CH041205

REGISTRY
CODE

TO. NAIROBI

REF. M

TO FILE.

FM. CANBERRA

CLASSIFICATION. CONFIDENTIAL

FM. FILE. 935/28/2

SUBJECT. SAHARA : POSSIBLE CHANGE OF POSITION BY MAURITANIA

....

Attached is a copy of New York's memorandum M.UN2792 of 5 June 1979. We would be grateful for any comments which you can offer on this development; and for information on the treatment of the Western Sahara issue at Monrovia.

2. We would think that a Mauritanian defection from its former adherence to the Moroccan line on Western Sahara could have some interesting reverberations in the OAU.

15

(Paul Smith)
UN Political Section

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**CENTRAL REGISTRY
D.F.A.

DATE. 5 June 1979

INFORMATION.

ALGIERS
PARIS

JUN 11 12 42 PM '79

INWARDSIN REPLY
QUOTE**M.UN** 2834REGISTRY
CODE

TO.

CANBERRA

REF.

M.UN 2792

TO FILE.

935/28/2

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NEW YORK U.N.CLASSIFICATION. **CONFIDENTIAL**

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NUMBER**2499**SUBJECT. SAHARA : CHANGE OF POSITION BY MAURITANIA

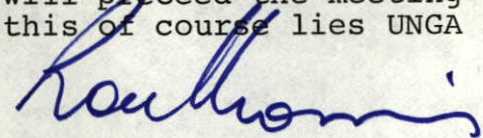
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Attached for your easy reference is a copy of a letter from the Charge d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of Mauritania to the United Nations in which it is stated, in essence, that Mauritania is prepared to reverse its position on the Saharan issue and to normalise its relations with Algeria.

2. Semichi (Algeria) said to us that Mauritania was about to give up to the Polisario Front the zone of the Sahara that it occupied following the Madrid Agreement in 1975. Mauritania was however, proceeding cautiously as it was afraid that Morocco would, in retaliation, attack Mauritania. Morocco, Semichi claimed, had already threatened to do so and had added that were Mauritania to relinquish its hold on its zone, Morocco would seize this for its own. Mauritania had, accordingly, made approaches to both France (which Semichi said had been taking an "increasingly positive attitude" to the issue) and to Algeria for "protection". Semichi said both had agreed to provide this.

3. Semichi expected an announcement any day to the effect that Mauritania and Algeria had normalised their relations. He had understood that such an announcement was to have been made on 23 May, but for various reasons this had been deferred.

4. We would be interested for any comments you may have on Semichi's remarks. A change of position by Mauritania would have far reaching implications for the Committee of 24's consideration of the issue (which will be in August) and of lesser importance but of considerable interest to us as well for the OAU meeting in Monrovia which will precede the meeting of the Committee of 24. Beyond this of course lies UNGA 34.



(R.S. Morris)
Second Secretary

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Mr Smith
Pls reek CSA's
(your) comments. H 1976

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/276
23 May 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 23 May 1979 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Mauritania to the United Nations addressed
to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you of the position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania concerning the question of the Sahara and the problems relating thereto:

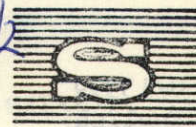
1. Mauritania is prepared to implement forthwith the provisions of the two resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1975 on the question of the Sahara (resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX)).
2. Mauritania is also prepared to study ways and means of achieving self-determination in the Sahara.
3. Mauritania remains in favour of the dialogue with POLISARIO with a view to achieving the practical implementation of the principle of self-determination.
4. Mauritania is equally prepared to normalize its relations with Algeria in order to re-establish the traditional links of friendship and brotherhood that existed between the two countries.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a General Assembly document under item 18 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Mamadou KANE
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

UAP

g35/28/2



UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



LM

Distr.
GENERAL

S/13399
18 June 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 16 JUNE 1979 FROM THE DEPUTY PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF ALGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL

The representative of Morocco has addressed to you a letter reporting certain acts of war within Moroccan territory, the responsibility for which he wrongly attributes to my country. Such accusations are entirely groundless and are designed solely to divert the attention of the international community from the basic facts of the question of Western Sahara, which in reality is entirely a matter of decolonization.

I
Algeria categorically refutes the presentation and interpretation of the acts of war in question and expresses its indignation at this attempt by Morocco to shift onto it the responsibility for the tragic consequences of Morocco's mistaken policy of expansionism and annexation. In any event, Morocco, which knows fully well that no Algerian armed forces have crossed the Moroccan frontier, has not produced and could not produce any proof of the allegations which it has so frivolously made. It resorts to an astonishing syllogism in order to "prove" the existence of something which does not exist. Being well aware it could not maintain, without losing all credibility, that "Algerian forces" had actually crossed the Moroccan frontier, Morocco simply referred to "forces", taking care not to identify them further but nevertheless concluding, by a syllogism of dubious consistency, that Algeria was therefore an aggressor because it had somehow used "force" against the territorial integrity of the Moroccan State, 400 kilometres from its frontier.

These "forces" which Morocco, in an attempt to maintain confusion and abuse the good faith of the members of the Security Council, does not identify are constituted by the armed organization of the Saharan people, the Polisario Front, which is fighting for self-determination and independence.

Actually, if the Saharan fighters of the Polisario Front, in their national liberation struggle, are striking such heavy blows at the troops illegally occupying their territory and putting them on the defensive even inside Moroccan territory, with the aim of destroying the military bases from which their adversaries come, this is proof of the fact that they are largely in control of Western Sahara, part of which they have effectively liberated and where they have set up their own bases to support their fight for national liberation and to drive out the occupying forces.

How could anyone think that the Saharan troops could attack their adversary in its own territory, across an almost impassable desert, and at places more than 400 kilometres from Algeria's western frontier, if they were not in control of the land in Western Sahara that they have partly liberated from its illegal occupiers?

This is the reality, cruel as it may be to the Moroccan Government bogged down in a war of conquest. This reality entirely demolishes Morocco's argument concerning an alleged act of aggression by Algeria that is logically, geographically and physically impossible.

II

It is clear from the foregoing that Morocco, which pays no heed to proving the materiality of the acts which it wrongly imputes to Algeria, is deliberately confusing the issue. Its purpose is also clear. By invoking a supposed right of self-defence without first proving the existence of an attack by Algeria, Morocco is justifying in advance an act of aggression which it is preparing against my country. Taking refuge behind Article 51 of the Charter, which manifestly does not apply in this case, Morocco is preparing to commit armed aggression against Algeria, thus violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, adding to the aggression committed against the Saharan people since 1975 a further aggression against a neighbouring State, and assuming the historical responsibility for unleashing a conflict with incalculable consequences for the security and stability of a large part of the African continent.

Invoking Article 51 of the Charter, which permits the exercise of the right of self-defence, is as inappropriate and unjustified as the so-called "right of hot pursuit" with which Morocco is threatening Algeria. The right of hot pursuit, which cannot be dissociated from colonialism, is directly linked in its manifestations to the pouncings of occupying forces in reaction to national liberation struggles. It is one of the intolerable semblances of legality which colonialism tries to impose by conferring legal validity on all forms of violence in opposition to the emancipation movement of peoples. Having been rejected along with other errors of the past, the right of hot pursuit is now resurrected and therefore rejuvenated, thanks to Morocco. A favourite weapon of the colonial forces of the past, and now a preferred instrument of violence for Israel and the racist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes against the peoples of Lebanon, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola, the right of hot pursuit is a prime example of an act of "deliberate and premeditated armed aggression", in the words of the representative of Tunisia, Mr. Mongi Slim, to the Security Council on 2 June 1958. The right of hot pursuit, a dusty argument of the colonial Powers which Morocco pulls out of the imperialist legal scrap-heap to invoke against Algeria, recalls to us the horrors of the massacre of thousands of innocent civilians in southern Africa, victims of haughty white racist power.

In any event, to argue that the right of hot pursuit is a variation of the right of self-defence provided for in Article 51 of the Charter certainly requires a high degree of frivolity combined with blatant ignorance of the conditions for self-defence.

In these circumstances, Algeria casts back upon the Moroccan authorities full responsibility for the consequences which would inevitably follow from the violation of its frontiers, as stated by the President of Algeria in a message of 9 June to the President of the Sudan, the current Chairman of OAU. It is also in these circumstances that, on the same date, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria addressed a message to the same effect to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In addition to the order given by the King of Morocco to his armed forces to exercise a so-called right of hot pursuit, there is now the letter of 14 June in which Morocco brought before the Security Council a complaint concerning alleged aggression, thus exposing the Moroccan plan, which constitutes an extremely serious threat to Algeria and the region. Pursuing its policy of confusing the issue, Morocco is asking the Security Council to regard as aggression coming from a third State any armed action by a national liberation movement against forces of occupation. It is thus asking the Security Council to provide a cloak of legality in order to conduct its armed actions against a neighbouring State, while at the same time creating a legal precedent which would justify in the eyes of the United Nations Israel's attacks on Lebanon and those of the racist countries of southern Africa on the front-line States.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA

Deputy Permanent Representative

Chargé d'Affaires

III

By persisting in imputing to my country the responsibility for the failure of their policy of occupation and expansion, the Moroccan leaders are distorting the facts, using diversionary tactics and, being prisoners of that policy, are now reckless enough to want to create vis-à-vis Algeria a conflict situation that endangers peace and security in the region. Being incapable of putting an end to the resistance of the Saharan people, Morocco is attempting to create the impression that the question of Western Sahara is a dispute between the States of the region. This distortion of the issue reveals both the strength of the national liberation struggle being waged by the Saharan people and Morocco's inability to cope, otherwise than by pressing blindly forward, with the consequences of its policy of annexation, occupation and aggression.

No one could be deceived by these new Moroccan manoeuvres, both ridiculously futile and extremely dangerous, the aim of which is to create a diversion and reduce a decolonization issue to a supposed dispute between two States of the region.

Morocco persists, once again by bringing the matter before the Security Council, in shifting onto Algeria, in the face of all the evidence, responsibility for the misfortunes afflicting our entire region as a result of the military occupation and partitioning of the national territory of the Saharan people.

The situation is clear. If the region is at present in a tragic impasse, it requires a curious kind of logic to say that this is the fault of Algeria and not of the unbridled expansionism of its neighbour.

The fact is that the situation created by Morocco in Western Sahara, with its explosive repercussions throughout the region, is unquestionably the result of its

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obstinacy in denying the existence of the people of that territory and their fundamental right to self-determination and independence, even though that right was solemnly reaffirmed by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

At a time when many convergent efforts are being made to create a climate conducive to the search for a just and lasting political settlement of the question of Western Sahara, and no doubt precisely of that trend, Morocco is taking action at the international level to justify further escalations in aggression. This policy of diversion and threats, in addition to constituting a violation of international law, of the basic principles of the Charter, of resolution 2625 (XXV) on "principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States" and of resolution 3314 (XXIX) containing the Definition of Aggression, can neither intimidate Algeria nor mislead Maghreb, African and international opinion concerning the true nature of the conflict which is casting a shadow over our region. Nor can it outwit the Security Council, which is fully aware that the problem of Western Sahara belongs in the context of the historical process of decolonization.

IV

There is a conflict. But it is only between the Saharan people struggling for its independence and the two occupying States which have usurped its territory. No exercise in confusing the issue, no wrongful accusation of a neighbouring State, can mask the reality of an attempt to silence the voice of a people once again subjugated by the policy of conquest, partition and war of extermination. No futile attempt to travesty the facts, no expedient agitation before the Security Council, can turn the international community from its sacred duty or divert it from the course of helping the Saharan people to forge their own destiny.

Morocco is not only practising a policy of expansionism for which it has tried in vain to obtain endorsement, but is posing as a victim of aggression, while obstinately opposing the right of the Saharan people to an independent existence. Since the day on which it assumed the grave responsibility of invading the territory of the Saharan people, Morocco can only be regarded as an aggressor State, with all the legal consequences that such a description entails, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, with resolution 2625 (XXV) of 1970 and with resolution 3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, containing the Definition of Aggression. In particular, the latter resolution describes as an act of deliberate aggression the use of armed force to deprive peoples of their right to self-determination and independence. The same resolution consequently affirms the legitimacy of the support given to peoples which, like the Saharan people, are struggling in such circumstances to obtain their right to self-determination against armies of invasion.

One of the two occupying States, Mauritania, which, like Morocco today, had brought a complaint before the Security Council in October 1977 concerning the attack on Zouérate by the Polisario, now recognizes that the real problem at the root of the serious situation in the region is the fact that the people of Western Sahara has been deprived of its rights through occupation and partition. As a

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result of that recognition, it has now obtained the agreement of Polisario to maintain the cease-fire and to seek the admittedly still difficult road to peace. This example, which had the threefold merit of showing that the Western Sahara affair is not a dispute between two States, that it is a problem of decolonization and that it was futile to try to mislead the Security Council, should serve as an example to Morocco.

Any action which the Security Council might decide to take could only be within the framework laid down by our Organization for expediting the solution of the question of Western Sahara, which in any event is on the agenda of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, through the implementation of the decisions concerning the effective exercise by the people of Western Sahara of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

I would request you to have this text circulated as a Security Council document.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.AL3160 ACHO
TOR 0649 18.06.79

O.AL3160 1400 17.6.79 CLA

TO.
RR CANBERRA/2257

RP.
RR UN NEW YORK/148 PARIS EMB/722

FM. ALGIERS /

835/28/2

C O N F I D E N T I A L

MAURITANIA / ALGERIA RELATIONS - WESTERN SAHARA

A MAURITANIAN DELEGATION INCLUDING THREE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND LED BY AHMED SALEM OULD SIDI VISITED ALGIERS FROM 12 TO 14 JUNE AND HELD SEVERAL TALKS WITH ALGERIAN OFFICIALS INCLUDING THE MINISTER OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS. THE MEETINGS WERE REPORTED IN THE ALGERIAN PRESS.

2. THE SAME ALGERIAN MINISTER LED A DELEGATION TO THE FUNERAL OF THE MAURITANIAN PRIME MINISTER ON 1 JUNE (FOR WHICH PRESIDENT CHADLI ALSO SENT A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY). HE IS ALSO RUMOURED TO HAVE LED AN EARLIER ALGERIAN DELEGATION TO NOUAKCHOTT IN APRIL (WHICH WAS MENTIONED PUBLICLY IN A SPEECH BY THE ALGERIAN PRESIDENT A MONTH LATER).

3. AT NO TIME HAS THE SUBJECT OF THESE CONSULTATIONS BEEN GIVEN BY THE ALGERIAN PRESS. THERE IS NATURALLY SPECULATION THAT THEY INCLUDE THE RESTORATION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, WHICH MIGHT BE BASED ON ALGERIAN SUPPORT FOR SOME FORM OF DETACHMENT OF MAURITANIA FROM MOROCCO ON THE QUESTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA.

4. WE ARE NOT CLEAR FROM HERE WHETHER MOROCCO'S ACTIONS IN ANNOUNCING A RIGHT OF PURSUIT INTO ALGERIA, AND IN BRINGING RECENT POLISARIO INCURSIONS BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, REPRESENT IN PART SOME PRELIMINARY RESPONSE TO THE ABOVE. NO DOUBT KING HASSAN HAS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF DOMESTIC ANGER AT SUCH INCURSIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POLISARIO FRONT NOW HAS FORWARD BASES IN FORMERLY SPANISH TERRITORY, AND MOROCCO MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTY IN WELCOMING ANY UN FACT-FINDING MISSION IN THAT TERRITORY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.AL3160

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
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CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION: AME
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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	MCO	FAS(SEP)	
FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	EUR	FAS(DEF)	DP	
DC	FAS(NUC)	FAS(IOC)	IO	FAS(PCR)	
INF	FAS(ECO)	FAS(LT)	FAS(MFS)	FAREP-M	
FAREP-P	FAREP-S				

ACCRA CAIRO LAGOS LONDON MADRID TRIPOLI

CONFIDENTIAL

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UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/13394
14 June 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

935/28/2

LETTER DATED 13 JUNE 1979 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF
MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE SECURITY COUNCIL

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you of the following:

During the night of 31 May-1 June 1979, a column of the Moroccan Royal Armed Forces was attacked while it was advancing peacefully between the towns of Tan Tan and Tarfaya, situated within territory which has from time immemorial been under Moroccan sovereignty.

Morocco suffered more than 20 dead, several dozen wounded and extensive material damage.

During the night of 4 June 1979, while His Majesty King Hassan II was receiving Mr. Edem Kodjo, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, to inform him of the flagrant aggression and violation of Moroccan territory, the town of Assa, likewise situated in the southern part of the national territory of Morocco, was attacked. The grim results of this second attack consisted of extensive material damage, including the total destruction of a public building, several dead, including six civilians who were going peacefully about their business, and many wounded.

Thus, within four days, Morocco was the victim of two flagrant attacks, carried out and directed by forces whose point of departure was situated in neighbouring Algerian territory, to which they returned after committing their heinous crimes.

Thus, Algeria, a State Member of the United Nations, has deliberately violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, notably by resorting to the use of force against the territorial integrity of the Moroccan State.

The Government of the Kingdom of Morocco is therefore both justified in addressing itself to the Security Council and compelled to do so, for the situation created and imposed on it by Algeria cannot continue without seriously threatening the maintenance of peace and security in the region.

Morocco will, of course, continue to exercise its inherent right of self-defence in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations whenever it is subjected to repeated armed attacks, and will pursue its attackers both within and outside its territory.

Morocco is deeply attached to the principles of the United Nations, with which it is determined to comply in all circumstances, but wishes to reaffirm its desire for peace and its determination to do nothing, beyond exercising its inherent right of self-defence, that might jeopardize or endanger international peace and security.

It is doubtless of interest to recall that throughout this recent period Morocco has been the victim of a number of armed attacks and that its territorial integrity has been violated more than once.

On each occasion, with the aim of protecting North West Africa from anything that might jeopardize its security and stability, it has refrained from responding to the blind forces of aggression by actions involving force which are equally blind.

Consequently, on behalf of my Government, I have the honour to request you to make the necessary arrangements to convene a meeting of the Security Council to consider the acts of aggression committed by the Algerian Government against Morocco. The Council should also take as a matter of urgency all effective measures, in accordance with the prerogatives conferred upon it by the Charter, to avert the obvious threats to peace thus created and to check the acts of aggression of which Morocco is the victim.

(Signed) Abdellatif FILALI
Ambassador, Permanent Representative
of the Kingdom of Morocco
to the United Nations

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

O.UN14502 AMBR
TOR 0953 15.06.79

O.UN14502 1830 14.6.79 CLA

TO.

RR CANBERRA/3886

RP.

RR PARIS EMB/577

BB ALGIERS/30

FM. UN NEW YORK / FILE 609/26 609/29

935/28/2

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

UN SECURITY COUNCIL : WESTERN SAHARA

THIS MORNING (14 JUNE) THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF MOROCCO SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, A LETTER SEEKING A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL TO CONSIDER 'ALGERIAN AGGRESSION. THE LETTER HAS NOT YET BEEN CIRCULATED.

2. AT CONSULTATIONS DURING THE DAY THE MORROCCAN'S DID NOT PRESS FOR AN EARLY MEETING AND IT WAS AGREED THAT INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE RESUMED NEXT WEEK.

3. THE ALGERIAN CHARGE TOLD US THAT ALGERIA WAS QUITE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WESTERN SAHARA IN ANY INTERNATIONAL FORUM OR TO INVITE MEDIATION BY EITHER SPAIN OR FRANCE. IT WAS NOT PREPARED TO DISCUSS ITS ALLEGED AGGRESSION. HE SAID THAT, ALGERIA WAS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED BUT WAS QUITE OPEN ON ITS LEGITIMATE SUPPORT FOR THE WESTERN SAHARA LIBERATION MOVEMENT POLISARIO.

4. THE CHARGE REFERRED TO CONSULTATIONS AT PRESENT BEING HELD IN ALGIERS WITH A DELEGATION FROM MAURITANIA WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE LATTER DROPPING ITS CLAIM TO THE PART OF THE WESTERN SAHARA IT AT PRESENT OCCUPIED AND RESUMING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA AND TO THE OAU REPORT NOW IN ITS FINAL STAGES AS PROMPTING THE MORROCCAN INITIATIVE.

RESTRICTED

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER

FOREIGN MINISTER

MIN+DEP DEFENCE

DEP P M AND CABINET

ONA

JIO

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

2-0.UN14502

ACTION: IO

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SEC	DEPSECS	EX	FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)
FAS(WES)	ANZ	AME	FAS(DEF)	DP
FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(LT)	DC
				FAS(MFS)

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/312
13 June 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

935/28/2

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE
TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 13 June 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed to
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a message from His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Seddik Benyahia, member of the Political Bureau and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

On instructions from my Government I would request that you kindly arrange for this message to be issued as a General Assembly document under item 18 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

The United Nations, which has reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence", the Organization of African Unity, which has established an Ad Hoc Committee to "consider all aspects of the question of Western Sahara, including the right of the people of the territory to self-determination", and the administering Power, which has always stated that it has never transferred sovereignty over the territory or agreed to partition, are unanimously agreed that it is a matter of urgent necessity to find a political solution, based on the principle of the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, to this decolonization problem.

The Mauritanian Government itself, in a letter addressed to you recently (A/34/312), has reaffirmed its intention of seeking, jointly with the Frente Polisario, a solution to the problem of Western Sahara through the exercise of the right of the people of that territory to self-determination, thereby recognizing that the question of Western Sahara is a genuine decolonization problem.

* A/34/50.

79-16082

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ANNEX

Message dated 13 June 1979 addressed to the Secretary-General
by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria

My Government has already, on several occasions, called to your attention the threats of aggression which Morocco has constantly been levelling at Algeria. On each occasion we expressed the hope that the Moroccan leaders would be able to spare our peoples a situation with incalculable consequences.

However, the order just given by the King of Morocco to the royal armed forces to exercise an alleged right of hot pursuit now lends extremely serious overtones to these threats, imperiling security in the region and world peace.

By insisting on blaming Algeria for the failure of their policy of occupation and expansion, the Moroccan leaders are resorting to subterfuges, distorting the facts and, finding themselves prisoners of this policy, now have no hesitation in seeking to create a situation of conflict with my country in an attempt to disguise the true nature of the liberation struggle waged by the people of Western Sahara.

The people of Western Sahara are waging this war of liberation against two occupying Powers. They have had to resort to armed struggle to gain recognition for their right to self-determination and independence. Morocco, using armed force to deprive these people of their right to self-determination and independence, can be classified as an aggressor State within the meaning of General Assembly resolution 3314 (XXIX) defining aggression.

The legitimacy of the struggle waged by the Frente Polisario, the growing interest it is steadily arousing throughout the world, and the support shown for it by the international community now make it impossible to deny the true nature of the fight of the people of Western Sahara.

The United Nations, which has reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence", the Organization of African Unity, which has established an Ad Hoc Committee to "consider all aspects of the question of Western Sahara, including the right of the people of the territory to self-determination", and the administering Power, which has always stated that it has never transferred sovereignty over the territory or agreed to partition, are unanimously agreed that it is a matter of urgent necessity to find a political solution, based on the principle of the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, to this decolonization problem.

The Mauritanian Government itself, in a letter addressed to you recently (A/34/276), has just reaffirmed its intention of seeking, jointly with the Frente Polisario, a solution to the problem of Western Sahara through the exercise of the right of the people of that territory to self-determination, thereby recognizing that the question of Western Sahara is a genuine decolonization problem.

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Only Morocco persists in obstructing the efforts that have been made to create a favourable climate for the search for a just and lasting solution to the question of Western Sahara.

At all events, Algeria being firmly committed to respect for the sovereignty of States and for their territorial integrity, will never permit any infringement of its sovereignty, or its territorial integrity, and wishes to emphasize that Morocco bears the sole responsibility for the inevitable consequences that would derive from violation of its frontiers.

(Signed) Mohamed Seddik BENYAHIA

Minister for Foreign Affairs

of the People's

Democratic Republic of Algeria

UNITED NATIONS
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/308
12 June 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

935/28/2

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 11 June 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Algeria to the United Nations addressed
to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the message addressed by His Excellency Mr. Chadli Bendjedid, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, and General Secretary of the National Liberation Front, to Marshall Mohammed Jaafar Numeiry, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current President of the Organization of African Unity.

On instructions from my Government I would request that you kindly arrange for this message to be issued as a General Assembly document under item 18 of the preliminary list.

In application of the decision taken by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, meeting under your chairmanship in Addis Ababa, capital in July 1976, the Heads of State of High Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Ad Hoc Committee, accompanied by the Secretary-General, visited the Maghreb region to examine all the aspects of the question of Western Sahara, including the right of the people of that territory to self-determination.

The spirit prevailing during the exchange of views with all the parties concerned, including the Frente Polisario, strengthened our conviction that Africa, true to its noble traditions and its nature, can contribute to a just and lasting solution of the question of Western Sahara.

The United Nations, aware of the considerable responsibility it bears in the matter of decolonization of territories under colonial rule, affirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

... one of the parties directly concerned, recently reaffirmed, in a letter dated 12 June 1979, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, its determination to work jointly with the Frente Polisario, a solution to the problem of Western Sahara through the exercise of the right of the people of that territory to self-determination, thereby recognizing that the question of Western Sahara is truly a problem of decolonization.

* A/34/50.

79-15910

ANNEX

Message addressed on 9 June 1979 to Marshal Mohammed Jaafar Numeiry,
President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current
President of the Organization of African Unity

The decision recently taken by the King of Morocco, concerning the exercise of an alleged right of hot pursuit with which he had previously threatened Algeria, prompts me to call your attention to the grave dangers now threatening the entire Maghreb region. This decision could well imperil peace and security in this part of the African continent.

Disregarding international ethics and the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the non-aligned countries, Morocco has continued to occupy the territory of Western Sahara and forcibly to obstruct the exercise of the legitimate right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence although it is now recognized by the entire international community.

Morocco now wishes to embark on a new adventure and enter a new phase in the escalation, stating that it intends to extend its aggression to my country.

This bellicose attitude is being taken at a time when efforts, in addition to the peace initiatives of the Frente Polisario, are being made, particularly by our organization, to create a climate conducive to the quest for a just and lasting solution of the question of Western Sahara.

In application of the decision taken by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, meeting under your distinguished chairmanship in your capital in July 1978, the Heads of State of Nigeria and Mali, members of the Ad Hoc Committee, accompanied by the Secretary-General of our organization, visited the Maghreb region to examine all the aspects of the question of Western Sahara, including the right of the people of that territory to self-determination.

The spirit prevailing during the exchange of views with all the parties concerned, including the Frente Polisario, strengthened our conviction that Africa, true to its noble traditions and its nature, can contribute to a just and lasting solution of the question of Western Sahara.

The United Nations, aware of the considerable responsibility it bears in the matter of decolonization of territories under colonial rule, affirmed the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

Mauritania, one of the parties directly concerned, recently reaffirmed, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, its determination to seek, jointly with the Frente Polisario, a solution to the problem of Western Sahara through the exercise of the right of the people of that territory to self-determination, thereby recognizing that the question of Western Sahara is truly a problem of decolonization.

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Spain, the administering Power, only recently emphasized that it had never transferred sovereignty over that territory and that this decolonization problem called for an urgent political and peaceful solution for the territory as a whole, on the basis of respect for the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU on the subject, through the exercise of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination.

Now, given the extent of the resistance on the part of the people of Western Sahara, the international following they have won, and the sympathy, solidarity and support shown to them, no one can deny the nature of the fight they are waging under the leadership of the Frente Polisario or disregard their determination to liberate their territory.

Only Morocco, with its intransigent attitude, continues to deny the existence of the people of Western Sahara and their right to self-determination. It persists in blaming Algeria for the military set-backs inflicted on it by the people of Western Sahara. This diversionary policy is designed to misrepresent a problem involving a struggle for national liberation as a bilateral dispute with Algeria.

But whatever manoeuvres Morocco attempts in order to create a situation of conflict with Algeria, they can never conceal the true origin of the problem, which arose as a result of the occupation of Western Sahara.

However, since it was itself the victim of colonial domination, Morocco should know that such domination inevitably engenders resistance among the people who have to endure it. This fact, which Morocco continues to disregard, has inevitably led it to apply colonial logic in resorting to so-called right of hot pursuit.

Is it not by virtue of that very same so-called right of hot pursuit that the racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury persist in committing repeated acts of aggression against Botswana, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola?

In the Middle East it is the same so-called right of hot pursuit that Israel resorts to in an attempt to justify its criminal attacks on Lebanon.

In the Maghreb, in southern Africa and in the Middle East the same diversionary tactics, characteristic of an obstinate refusal to deny the existence of peoples and the legitimacy of their struggle, are used to create artificially tense situations with neighbouring countries.

You yourself, Mr. President, have frequently had occasion to note the position of my country on the question of Western Sahara. This position remains unchanged. Algeria has no dispute with Morocco and has no claims on the territory of Western Sahara. The assistance and support which it is extending to the legitimate struggle of the people of that territory are a natural feature of its policy of supporting peoples struggling for their freedom and their independence.

Algeria, which has consistently encouraged all peace initiatives and all efforts to seek a just and lasting political solution to the question of Western

Sahara on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations, is firmly resolved to continue its activities to that end in the conviction that that is the only course likely to hasten the advent of a new and promising era for all peoples in this part of our continent.

In any case, Algeria wishes to reaffirm that no intimidation of any kind whatsoever can shake its convictions. It wishes once again to state its firm determination to oppose any infringement of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and it holds the Moroccan authorities entirely responsible for the inevitable consequences of violation of its frontiers.

(Signed) CHADLI Bendjedid
President of the People's Democratic
Republic of Algeria
General Secretary of the National
Liberation Front

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RESTRICTED

CENTRAL

DATE. 30 May 1979

INFORMATION.

PARIS, ALGIERS

IN REPLY
QUOTE

M.UN 2792

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FM. FILE. 412/1

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SUBJECT.

WESTERN SAHARA

At the most recent meeting of the representatives of the NAM, Western Sahara was inscribed on the draft agenda for the Non-Aligned Summit. Twenty-three delegations voted in favour but Zaire and Iraq objected to the inscription so the agenda document contains a note to the effect that the decision was not unanimous. In their statements most of the 23 emphasized that their vote reflected their belief that the matter should be discussed and did not carry any implications about their views on the substance of the issue.

2. The Chairman asked the Zaire and Iraqi delegations to submit their views in writing but they have yet to do so.

3. The Algerian Mission told us that while they anticipated Zaire's objections they were surprised at the position taken by Iraq. Algeria had lobbied intensely in Baghdad and were given an Iraqi commitment. The Mission assume that the Iraqi Permanent Representative was acting on his own initiative.

..... 4. Attached is a copy of a letter from the Mauritanian Charge d'Affaires to the Secretary-General on Mauritanian policy on the Western Sahara.

(Signature)
(Ian James)
Counsellor

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED

① *Handwritten note* 716.
② ME.
③ Rth CMO

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UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/276
23 May 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-fourth session
Item 18 of the preliminary list*

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

Letter dated 23 May 1979 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Mauritania to the United Nations addressed
to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to inform you of the position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania concerning the question of the Sahara and the problems relating thereto:

1. Mauritania is prepared to implement forthwith the provisions of the two resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1975 on the question of the Sahara (resolutions 3458 A and B (XXX)).

2. Mauritania is also prepared to study ways and means of achieving self-determination in the Sahara.

3. Mauritania remains in favour of the dialogue with POLISARIO with a view to achieving the practical implementation of the principle of self-determination.

4. Mauritania is equally prepared to normalize its relations with Algeria in order to re-establish the traditional links of friendship and brotherhood that existed between the two countries.

I should be grateful if you would circulate this letter as a General Assembly document under item 18 of the preliminary list.

(Signed) Mamadou KANE
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

* A/34/50.

79-14309

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

SPANISH POLICY IN NORTH AFRICA

ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN MUCH PRESS COMMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE RECENT VISIT TO ALGIERS BY PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ HAS MARKED A DRAMATIC SHIFT IN SPANISH POLICY IN NORTH AFRICA I BELIEVE THAT SUCH COMMENT IS PREMATURE AND POSSIBLY OVERSTATED. THE VISIT (IN RESPONSE TO A LONG-STANDING ALGERIAN INVITATION) APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN DESIGNED PARTLY TO ASSESS THE INTENTIONS OF ALGERIA UNDER CHADLI AND PARTLY TO SIGNAL TO MOROCCO THAT SPANISH GOODWILL CAN NOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED IN THE FACE OF NON-RATIFICATION BY MOROCCO OF THE BILATERAL FISHERIES TREATY WITH SPAIN AND REPEATED PUBLIC CLAIMS TO CEUTA AND MELILLA. SPAIN, HOWEVER, MAY ALSO HAVE ASSESSED THAT MOROCCO SINCE THE FALL OF THE SHAH MAY HAVE BECOME MORE ISOLATED IN THE ARAB AND AFRICAN WORLDS.

2. SPAIN CLEARLY WANTS TO MAINTAIN A POSITION OF BALANCE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ALGERIA AND MOROCCO, BOTH OF WHICH ARE MAJOR MARKETS AND SUPPLIERS (ALGERIAN NATURAL GAS, MOROCCO PHOSPHATES) MOREOVER, SPAIN'S GESTURE OF GRANTING A MEASURE OF RECOGNITION TO POLISARIO SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED SOLELY IN RELATION TO SAHARAN SELF-DETERMINATION BUT IN A MUCH WIDER CONTEXT INCLUDING SPANISH FISHING IN AFRICAN WATERS, OAU ATTITUDES TO THE CANARY ISLANDS, MOROCCAN CLAIMS TO CEUTA AND MELILLA AND A RANGE OF RELATED CONSIDERATIONS SUCH AS GIBRALTAR AND LIKELY FRENCH AND NATO ATTITUDES TO DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MAGHREB.

3. FROM MADRID IT LOOKS AS IF RESENTMENT CAUSED IN MOROCCO BY THE SUAREZ VISIT TO ALGIERS IS NOW BEING MUTED IN VIEW OF KING JUAN CARLOS'S LONG-DELAYED VISIT TO RABAT. UNLESS FURTHER POSTPONED IT WILL TAKE PLACE 4 TO 6 JUNE WHEN SPAIN HOPES THE FISHERIES TREATY WILL BE RATIFIED.

.../2

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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7 May 1979

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MOROCCO : POLICY ON THE WESTERN SAHARA

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ENCLOSURES ATTACHED
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Attached is a copy of a useful memorandum
(M.2009 of 2 April) from Paris Embassy on this subject.

B

(Paul Smith)
UN Political Section.

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General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/33/L.29

1 March 1979

ENGLISH

ORIGINAL: FRENCH

Thirty-third session

FOURTH COMMITTEE

Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Statement made by the representative of Algeria, at the 24th meeting
of the Fourth Committee, on 22 November 1978 1/

1. In these times which herald the end of the colonial era, your election as Chairman of the Fourth Committee is symbolic. If we go back some 18 years, we might recall that it was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a letter dated 23 September 1960, 2/ which took the historic initiative of calling for a debate in plenary meeting at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly with a view to eradicating the leprosy of colonialism from the face of the globe. The Soviet Union thus appealed to the General Assembly to defend the "just cause" of the anti-colonialist struggle and to take effective measures forthwith "for the complete elimination of colonial rule".

2. Supported by this action, the group of 43 Afro-Asian countries submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution in the spirit of Bandung, which became the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960. The exceptional importance of that Declaration for the evolution of our world has rightly been emphasized, and it has come to be considered a kind of Chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations.

1/ Distributed in accordance with a decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 24th meeting, on 22 November 1978.

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Annexes,
vol. II, agenda item 87, document A/4502.

McSpird

3. Under your authority today, Mr. Chairman, we are evaluating the progress made and at the same time expressing our impatience to see the disappearance of the last vestiges of colonial irredentism.

4. The specific problems to which the Fourth Committee has just begun to give special consideration, again this year, in the over-all framework of the study of the implementation of the Declaration are, in my delegation's opinion, especially serious causes of concern for the international community: they represent a real test of the credibility and prestige of the United Nations as an instrument designed, inter alia, to ensure the rapid and unconditional elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

5. Indeed, the United Nations remains seized of the question of decolonization in Asia, where East Timor is experiencing military occupation which has not succeeded in masking the true colonial dimension of the problem; in Latin America, where Belize and its people see their efforts to accede to independence countered by territorial claims which are contrary to the very principles of the self-determination of peoples; and lastly, in Africa, where the case of Western Sahara, despite all the manoeuvres aimed at distorting its strictly colonial nature, preoccupies the world's conscience and forces the Saharan people to engage in armed resistance to demand the exercise of their fundamental right to self-determination.

6. The Algerian delegation has already had an opportunity, during the consideration of this particular item at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, to point out the similarity that exists between the different cases still included among what our Committee continues to call the small Territories. The basic facts about these problems are indeed identical, even though certain regional or other characteristics may sometimes have brought into play the national acquisitiveness of certain countries in the region concerned. In any case, if one endeavours to set aside all the phraseology designed to divert the international community's attention from the basic facts of these various problems, their common feature becomes clear, namely, that what is involved is indeed the restoration of the right of colonized peoples to self-determination, in accordance with the sacred principles embodied in the Charter. In the opinion of the Algerian delegation, merely recalling the basic facts about the problems being considered is already a positive element in the search for a solution.

7. The fact that these problems are strictly problems of decolonization, a feature which remains common to them, already helps us to perceive the direction which the future efforts of the world community should take; the United Nations has a duty to prevent the emergence of international relations based on military aggression and military faits accomplis aimed at stifling the most legitimate aspirations of peoples under colonial domination to exercise freely their right to self-determination.

8. The Algerian delegation would like to call attention to an obvious point. Since 1956, when Spain was admitted to membership in the United Nations, the question of Western Sahara has always been considered as relating to a geographically well-defined "dependent Territory". This question has always been

considered in the specific context of Chapter XI of the Charter, that is, as a problem of decolonization to which General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) apply. The international community has placed the question of Western Sahara in this context and has adopted a number of resolutions affirming the right of the Saharan people, within the clearly defined limits of its territory, to self-determination and even to "its independence", to repeat the expression used in a resolution adopted at the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Rabat, from 12 to 15 June 1972, as well as in other United Nations resolutions.

9. We must begin, therefore, by taking up - in the full sense of the word - this challenge to the logic of history. As in the cases of Belize and East Timor, the normal process of decolonization has been seriously impeded in the case of Western Sahara. The United Nations, OAU and the movement of non-aligned countries have until now devoted their energy and their substance, their strategy and their action, to helping the captive peoples to wrest their freedom from the proud imperial metropolitan countries which had confiscated it. Who could have predicted that one day we would be obliged to meet in an attempt to restore the destiny of one of the peoples of Africa, once colonized by the descendants of the conquistadors and now the expiratory victim of two African States, albeit well-versed in the evils of colonial domination, having been victorious in their own struggle for national liberation and active architects of OAU itself? But that is precisely what has happened.

10. The United Nations and OAU alike are thus faced with a serious problem, with a resounding challenge to their foundations and moral values, to their prestige and influence. How can one describe such a strange situation in which those who were formerly colonized have now become colonizers in their turn? How can one interpret such a surprising situation in which yesterday's victim of an expansionism which is still on our agenda today so readily comes to terms with the very country which, until recently, was denying its right to existence? Can this be seen as anything but a vestige of imperialism which never dies out but is ever resurgent?

11. Is there any need to recall that it was the impetuous nationalistic zeal of the early years of our new-found independence and the fierce determination of our States to exist in freedom and independence which blocked the annexationist claims of one of the States concerned, a State which, even at that time, considered its "southern region" to consist of the two territories currently engaged with it in the present conflict, alas, on opposing sides?

12. An attempt has thus been made to efface Western Sahara, as a separate entity, from the map of the world. In the colonialist imagery used by the bureaus for so-called "indigenous affairs", the Saharan people were called "people of the clouds". And now they have become "people without a land", hostages in their own country, aliens in their own territory, which has become for them a foreign land, thanks to shots fired by the guns of occupation.

13. This intolerable situation, which defies the logic of history and the normal process of decolonization, is also a persistent challenge to justice. Our Organization is in honour bound to fulfil the legitimate aspirations of these

deprived people, these people without a land, whose identity has been confiscated, the Saharan people, fighting for their right to existence, which is being denied by one of those monstrous aberrations of history and one of those cruel distortions of the process of decolonization. Our Organization must not assume the tragic and terrifying historic responsibility for allowing a new wandering people to be created, as it did in the case of the Palestinians.

14. The fallacious argument that relatively few people are involved, which is employed in an unduly selective manner in order to avoid the appearance of being highly suspect, cannot be used to invalidate their right to self-determination. Great care must be taken not to make recognition of the right to self-determination conditional on criteria based on number or area. If such factors were to prevail, how many States in the world, both new and old, would deserve to achieve the dignity of statehood and how many peoples would still deserve their freedom?

15. Algeria believes that the dictates of justice, not to mention those of peace and stability in our region, demand that the normal process of decolonization should be respected through the implementation of the right of peoples to self-determination. With regard to the exercise of this inalienable right by the Saharan people, Algeria has never prejudged the outcome of the consultation. Should the Saharan people choose, in complete freedom, to restore their links with either of the two States that have assumed the weighty historical responsibility of occupying their territory, Algeria would be the first country to congratulate them! Should the Saharan people choose a separate national destiny, our attitude would be no different! For it is true that respect for this basic and inviolable international rule in matters of decolonization cannot but open up for all the peoples of our region the best prospects for co-operation.

16. The intolerable situation imposed on the Saharan people, which represents a persistent challenge to the logic of history and justice, is also a dangerous challenge to peace. The question brought to the attention of the United Nations is of capital importance in this respect. Algeria, for its part, attaches the greatest importance to it, not only because of the threats which this matter poses to its own security, but, above all, because of the repercussions which such a problem could have on the structure of Africa as a community of States. Such are the disturbing factors which are indeed at stake. We must meet the challenge presented by the unwarranted occupation and partition of a territory in order to prevent it from becoming a disastrous precedent that could be used to bolster plots aimed at the destabilization of Africa.

17. The peace of our region is being seriously threatened by an illegal military fait accompli and the illegitimate partition of the Saharan territory. Algeria's attitude towards this matter is the same as it has always been towards matters of decolonization. Our unreserved support for the struggle of the Saharan people to secure respect for their right, and the right of all Africa, to live in freedom reflects our adherence to the universally accepted principles embodied in both the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of OAU. Our concern has been increased, and rightly so, by the annexationist appetites and expansionist ambitions which are already manifested on the spot and which are becoming apparent elsewhere, creating a serious situation of conflict on Algeria's borders, which is endangering the peace and stability of the entire region.

18. We have even been threatened with the "right of hot pursuit"! In a strange and eloquent imitation of the pattern followed by imperialistic conquest, an African State is thus following in the footsteps of former metropolitan countries. The sad recollection of the "right of hot pursuit" evokes for us the horrors of the massacre of thousands of civilians in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique during criminal raids by the white racist Powers of southern Africa. So today, must the dialectical regeneration of colonialist methods be used by a former colony, against its own brothers, to threaten Africa anew with irreparable self-inflicted wounds.

19. The serious conflict which has been raging for three years in Western Sahara and is so fraught with threats to peace in the region constitutes an exceptional challenge to the United Nations, which is quite naturally the major guarantor of respect for the principles which give life and substance to the Charter. Any abandonment, albeit tacit, by our Organization of the integrity of its own principles would undoubtedly destroy its credibility and prestige.

20. It is perfectly clear that the prime cause of the unbridled and explosive development of the problem of Western Sahara lies in the denial by two States Members of the United Nations, which are also members of the OAU, of the cardinal and universally accepted principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

21. This is a genuine case of decolonization to which the principle of self-determination must be applied. Since 1966, OAU, true to its Charter, has repeatedly expressed its deep concern and has reaffirmed, with exemplary consistency, the right of the Saharan people to decide their own future. OAU has never deviated from that position, nor failed in its responsibilities. With wisdom, cool-headedness and determination, it has displayed remarkable perseverance in its decisions, constantly reaffirming the right of the Saharan people to self-determination. To this end, it took the view that, in order to attain that right, it was necessary to hold a referendum, in co-operation with the Member States directly concerned and under United Nations auspices.

22. True to the principles and purposes outlined in the Charter of OAU, and determined to strive, by every possible means, to bring about the liberation of the colonized African peoples, the African countries, acting unanimously through the African Group in the United Nations, have regularly brought the matter before the Organization and have succeeded in obtaining the adoption of resolutions - resolutions which are fresh in everyone's mind - affirming the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination.

23. Indeed, as far back as 1965 the United Nations General Assembly was urgently requesting Spain to take all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territory. ^{3/} Since that first resolution, the United Nations has forcefully and constantly reaffirmed that the decolonization of the Saharan people and the exercise of their right to self-determination must come about through the holding of a scrupulously fair referendum, in line with the decision taken by OAU.

3/ Resolution 2072 (XX) of 16 December 1965.

24. At the regional level, until 1974, the three States concerned and interested united their efforts with a view to achieving the implementation of the pertinent resolutions of OAU and of the United Nations and aligned their positions in a remarkable display of harmony.

25. Thus, at the Nouadhibou and Agadir summit meetings of 14 September 1970 and 24 July 1973 respectively, the Heads of State of the three countries solemnly pledged themselves to intensify their efforts to bring about the decolonization of Western Sahara and reaffirmed their unswerving support for the principle of self-determination and its implementation through the free and genuine expression of the will of the population of the Territory.

26. However, the two States which were ultimately to occupy and partition Western Sahara abandoned this democratic procedure, which was in keeping with the principles always proclaimed by OAU and the United Nations, in favour of territorial claims based on fallacious and dangerous historical arguments dating from an earlier era, thereby effecting a spectacular volte-face and becoming guilty of an unprecedented betrayal of the oft-reiterated principles which they had previously appeared to uphold.

27. At the request of the African Group, whose intention was to ensure scrupulous respect for the decisions of OAU, the United Nations maintained its constantly reaffirmed position until the two States which were to occupy the Territory devised a delaying tactic to postpone the self-determination of the Saharan people. Thus, the United Nations was requested to place the matter before the International Court of Justice for a ruling on the alleged so-called historical rights.

28. As a sign of goodwill, that step was accepted, although many countries, some of them non-African, expressed concern at the further procedural procrastination, which was but a flimsy cover for expansionist aims, and obtained an explicit reaffirmation, in the resolution by which the matter was referred to the Court, of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

29. These delaying tactics and attempts to divert the decolonization process were brought to naught by the International Court of Justice when it stated explicitly, in its advisory opinion of 16 October 1975, 4/ that no tie of territorial sovereignty could be established between the territory of Western Sahara and Morocco or Mauritania, and that it had not found any legal ties of such a nature as might affect the right of the Saharan people to self-determination. The Court concluded that, in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, self-determination must come about through the free and genuine expression of the will of the population of the Territory.

4/ Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, ICJ Reports, 1975, p. 12.

30. The United Nations Visiting Mission to Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania and Western Sahara reached the same conclusions. Its report, 5/ adopted on 10 October 1975, is revealing and unchallengeable. The Visiting Mission explicitly emphasized that its inquiry had revealed that the Saharan population rejected the territorial claims of Morocco and Mauritania and wished to exercise its right to self-determination and independence in full sovereignty.

31. The persistence of the two occupying States in their territorial claims was thus violating a whole arsenal of resolutions of the United Nations and OAU, as was clearly shown by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion and by the strong desire of the Saharan people freely to decide their own future.

32. The inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination has been recognized by all international bodies for 12 years. From resolution 2229 (XXI) of 20 December 1966 to resolution 32/22 of 28 November 1977, there has been a long chain of commitments by the General Assembly endorsing the right of the Saharan people to self-determination for all time. From the United Nations to the non-aligned movement, from the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to OAU, from the International Court of Justice to the United Nations Visiting Mission to the area, from the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Rydbeck mission to the administering Power itself, all demand a free and genuine referendum for the Saharan people, not a piece of trickery.

33. The administering Power and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have refused to be associated with what very many countries in this very place have rightly termed a mockery of the implementation of the principle of self-determination. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in particular, has stated that neither the administering Power nor the interim administration has taken the necessary steps to ensure the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Saharan people. 6/

34. Similarly, following the withdrawal of its administration from the Territory, Spain informed the Secretary-General that "the decolonization of Western Sahara will reach its climax when the views of the Saharan population have been thoroughly expressed". 7/

35. Ambassador Rydbeck, the representative of the Secretary-General, informed the latter that in the circumstances resulting from the military occupation of the Territory, it had become impossible to organize a free consultation of the Saharan people.

5/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, annex.

6/ Ibid., Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23/Rev.1), vol. II, chap. XI, annex I, para. 46.

7/ Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1976 (S/11997).

36. However, when it is a question, as in this case, of an inalienable and inviolable right, any military fait accompli which flouts this right and which offends our consciences and violates all our principles, is an imprescriptible crime. History has shown time and again that it is impossible to stifle the voice of a people forever; its struggles lead inevitably to the achievement of its aspirations, however great the sacrifice, and however long it may take.

37. Thanks to the courage and self-sacrifice of the Saharan people in their search for freedom, the international community has now been forced to face the practical reality of the war of liberation being waged by the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO).

38. The representative character of the Frente POLISARIO is due, first and foremost, to the legitimacy of its struggle and the justice of the cause of the Saharan people. That representative character has been confirmed by the capacity of the Frente POLISARIO to organize popular resistance and by its control over the war of national liberation.

39. The United Nations Visiting Mission sent to the region by the Special Committee in May 1975 (see para. 30 above), which was headed by the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ivory Coast, took due note of the representative character of the Frente POLISARIO. Meaningful evidence of that was provided when the Jema'a dissolved itself on 28 November 1975, 8/ during a meeting held at El Guelta, but only after having first affirmed its "unconditional support for the Frente POLISARIO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Saharan people" and its "determination to continue the struggle for the defence of the homeland until ... independence". Moreover, on 6 December 1975, 57 of the 104 members of the Jema'a, including three of the six deputies to the Cortes, publicly joined the Frente POLISARIO.

40. Even more irrefutable evidence of the representative character of the Frente POLISARIO is provided by the former colonial Power, which recognizes it as a genuine national liberation movement. The highest-ranking military officer in Western Sahara, Lieutenant-General Gomez de Salazar, former Governor-General of the first military region of Madrid, together with the former Secretary-General of the Government, Colonel Rodriguez de Viguri, testified on 13 March 1978 before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chamber of Deputies and left no doubt as to the representative nature of the Frente POLISARIO and the desire of the Saharan people for independence. This testimony, together with that of 10 other prominent Spaniards, is of exceptional significance in that it emanates from officials of the former colonial Power.

41. If, after all that, further proof were needed of the control of the liberation movement by the Frente POLISARIO, one need only recall the cease-fire which it ordered on 12 July last over a specific sector of its area of operations and which

8/ Ibid., Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975 (S/11902), annex.

is still in effect. Moreover, this highly responsible gesture, which has certainly been judged to be an important peace initiative, is evidence of political maturity, as well as of the military control exercised by the Saharan movement.

42. As at previous sessions of the General Assembly, there are suggestions circulating at the current session that the problem of Western Sahara should be referred once again to OAU.

43. Strong in its commitment to the cause of decolonization, OAU has indeed expressed its profound concern at the deterioration of the situation in Western Sahara and the state of war which is developing there. As a mark of its concern to see this serious matter settled, it recalled its commitment to the sacrosanct principle of self-determination and, at the thirteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held at Port-Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, decided to hold a special session, with the participation of the people of Western Sahara for the purpose of finding a just solution to the problem of Western Sahara. 9/

44. As is well known, despite the desire of Africans to devote special attention to this problem, circumstances beyond their control have prevented the holding of such a session. However, the African demand for the convening of a special session was renewed at the fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Libreville from 2 to 5 July 1977 10/ when Lusaka was designated as the venue for the special session, which was scheduled for October 1977 but later postponed for reasons beyond the control of the host country. Likewise, the plan to hold the special session in early 1978 at Libreville, in the home country of the then President of OAU, could not be put into effect.

45. However, at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, when the right of the Saharan people to self-determination was reaffirmed more strongly than ever before, it was decided to form an ad hoc committee which would submit proposals to a special session of OAU. 11/

46. Algeria places the highest premium on African efforts to solve this problem. It reiterates its total willingness to co-operate fully in any action undertaken by Africa to promote a satisfactory solution to the problem on the basis of the principles so forcefully expressed at Khartoum.

47. However, it is necessary to be clear-sighted and to expose the repeated delaying tactics which a State which has everything to gain from maintaining the military fait accompli effected three years ago is attempting to impose on OAU and on the United Nations. The same State which year after year urges us at every

9/ Ibid., Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976 (S/12141), resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII).

10/ A/32/310, annex II, decision AHG/Dec. 110 (XIV).

11/ A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

session of the General Assembly to refer the matter back to OAU unfailingly reveals itself to be the readiest, and the most determined, to block any search for a solution within the great African family of nations. This inglorious game, which treats the fate of the Saharan people as a tennis ball, hit back and forth from one court to another, must stop.

48. In the knowledge that, where decolonization is concerned, the actions of OAU are always inspired by the fundamental provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly with a view to the settlement of all such colonial situations, the Algerian delegation voted in favour of resolution 31/45 of 1 December 1976, adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. That resolution, which reaffirmed the commitment of the United Nations to the self-determination of peoples in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), took note of the above-mentioned decision taken by OAU (see para. 43 above) and decided to postpone consideration of the question until its thirty-second session, while requesting the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the progress achieved in the implementation of the decisions of OAU on the subject, and invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report on that information to the General Assembly at its thirty-second session.

49. At its thirty-first session, therefore, the United Nations deferred any decision, as did the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries at their fifth Conference, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976. ^{12/} The international community thus twice suspended a final decision.

50. A third opportunity was offered at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, but the irredentist occupiers of Saharan territory merely responded to the legitimate expectations of the world community with ultra-conservatism and procedural obstructionism in OAU, thus renewing their sterile posturing, which has now, alas, become traditional. They are now the least qualified to propose sending the ball back yet again into the OAU court, where there is no doubt that they will hinder any efforts that may be made. Did they not walk out of the OAU meeting at Port-Louis in 1976? Later, at the fourteenth ordinary session of OAU at Libreville in 1977 (see para. 44 above), they were, to put it euphemistically, not exactly enthusiastic about entrusting the solution of the problem of Western Sahara to a special session of OAU.

51. If, today, they appear to have discovered the virtues of dialogue within the African family of nations, it is doubtless for the space of a General Assembly session, for the Saharan people are all too sadly aware that the "new" willingness is opportunist, as usual.

52. If that is not the case, then let them make a solemn declaration to that effect here and let the current session of the General Assembly record the willingness of these "occupiers" to work loyally with the ad hoc committee,

^{12/} A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.

to promote the convening of a special session of OAU in the near future, and to allow the Saharan people to state their case in accordance with the practice of OAU and the United Nations. In this manner, the international community would finally be informed of the nature of what, for lack of clear and decisive commitments, it can only take to be new subterfuges.

53. Now more than ever before, OAU, its ad hoc committee and the proposed special session require the support of the whole international community, if they are to overcome the unwillingness of one State to move. The fifteenth ordinary session of OAU at Khartoum (see para. 45 above) was perfectly aware of that fact and specifically requested, in its resolution, that the matter should remain before the United Nations, thus urging the international community to support it in its task, giving the world a timely reminder of the principles of decolonization in the course of a lucid debate culminating in an unequivocal resolution. Who could imagine that the United Nations would dare to disregard such an appeal, or would shirk such a duty?

54. It is neither in accordance with the traditions nor in the interests of the United Nations to harbour any special inclination for an assuredly disastrous prospect, at the very time when the only news reaching it is unfortunately news of escalating bloody combat, severe loss of life and all kinds of destruction in the part of the Territory not covered by the cease-fire, where the fighting is taking place. We all know that the United Nations, in its irreplaceable and salutary search for peace and its ordering of international relations, has a completely different role to play. This time, it cannot fail to draw positive conclusions from the debate on this question and to find a solution to a situation whose explosive nature and unforeseeable consequences for the region has already been amply demonstrated. In so doing, the General Assembly will not only have helped Africa, its regional organization and the ad hoc committee of OAU to discharge their duty, but, at the same time, it will have fulfilled its own duty in this respect, since it remains the guarantor of the rights and interests of the peoples and the instrument of harmony and peace among nations. The Algerian delegation therefore remains convinced that the current session will give the General Assembly an opportunity not only to reaffirm the right of the Saharan people freely to decide their own future, but also to devise whatever practical steps may be appropriate in order that they may attain that right. Respect for principles, the desire for peace and the will to exist on the part of the Saharan people require the adoption of such measures which will help OAU, its ad hoc committee and its special session to bring an end to the war in Western Sahara.

55. The day-to-day work of the United Nations and the regional organizations testifies to the complementary and parallel nature of their competence. The Secretary-General of the United Nations recalled the indissoluble and close relationship between their functions in his address on 25 May 1973 at Addis Ababa, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of OAU, 13/ when he stressed the need to preserve the "close ties" between the two organizations in order to complete the decolonization process to which the international community as a whole remains committed.

13/ Tenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held on 27 and 28 May 1973.

56. The parallel competence of the United Nations and OAU and the close ties between the two organizations should not entail the mere referral to the regional organization of a case of decolonization, especially when it is referred unsuccessfully for the third time. The best factual proof of the parallel nature of the competence of the two organizations is that the debates and decisions of OAU concerning the decolonization of southern Africa, in particular Namibia and Zimbabwe, have never served to bar the parallel competence of the United Nations in the matter. Quite the contrary. Furthermore, the problem of the decolonization of Belize has been raised more frequently in the United Nations, before the whole community of nations, than in the Organization of American States (OAS). The same applies to East Timor.

57. Thus, the General Assembly of the United Nations has clearly been invested by the Charter with specific functions and powers in respect of the decolonization of dependent Territories. In the course of their work over three decades, United Nations organs have developed a process of decolonization which they were instructed to devise, apply and supervise. Among the natural aspirations of the peoples of the United Nations, the ideology of decolonization has become a major concern of the United Nations, in the same way as the maintenance of peace and international security. The world Organization has placed its name, its credit and its prestige behind the achievement of full and unconditional decolonization as a prerequisite for the restoration of the natural rights of peoples and the dignity of all mankind.

58. As a regional organization within the meaning of Article 52 of the Charter of the United Nations, OAU possesses a competence which is complementary to, but not in competition with or opposed to, that of the United Nations. According to article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Charter of OAU, one of the purposes of OAU is "to promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations". The United Nations, in turn, has established rules for co-operation between itself and OAU since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965.

59. In any event, the competence of the United Nations with regard to decolonization in general, and the decolonization of Western Sahara in particular, is neither exclusive nor in competition with that of OAU. The two organizations, in a perfect complementarity of tasks and an exemplary harmony of concerns, should give each other mutual support in finding the necessary just solution to the problem of Western Sahara. In no way, however, should a regional organization, however competent it might be, derogate from the responsibilities of the international community, let alone take the place of the United Nations.

60. To conclude on this point, there may be some justification for stating that Article 52 of the Charter permits regional organizations to settle disputes when they are of a local nature. However, the problem of decolonization in general, and that of Western Sahara in particular, is not a local question. It is a problem which concerns the whole world community. And, in order to cut short any discussion regarding the distribution of competence, it should be pointed out once again that the Heads of State of OAU themselves stated, in the resolution adopted at Khartoum in July 1978 (see para. 45 above), that the United Nations remains

seized of the problem and should continue to consider it, particularly so that the ad hoc committee of OAU might enjoy the active support of the whole international community.

61. The general, universal and irreversible nature of the movement towards emancipation and liberation throughout the world places the Saharan people in the current of history, no matter what rear-guard actions may be mounted to prevent it.

62. Our region will one day find again the peace and harmony which can only be achieved through fruitful co-operation based on respect for the sovereignty and independence of peoples.

63. In order to prepare for that day, we ourselves are open to any solution based on those principles. It is in the light of such sentiments that we should like to see the problem of Western Sahara considered. Sooner or later, that problem will be solved in dignity and justice, but in order to achieve a perfectly correct solution, any approach to the problem must not disregard the nature of the problem, the fact that it is still a problem of decolonization.

64. On the other hand, if we were to forget that fact and to state the problem of Western Sahara in terms even more serious than as a case of false territorial integrity, we would be preparing a dismal future for our region. For some months, one of the two occupying States has launched a veritable "ideological crusade" by stating that it could never allow the southern part of its territory to be cut off by an ideology contrary to its own. 14/

65. One can do everything but change geography and choose one's neighbours. To harbour schemes of determining the nature of the political, economic and social régime of an adjacent country would be to seek to undermine all the long-established foundations of international society, to conjure up dangerous chimeras which might plunge the entire region into long-drawn-out chaos.

66. In his work, Un métier unique au monde, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, stated that he was convinced that the United Nations had a historic mission to ensure that the work of decolonization was completed in peace. 15/ Now, more than ever, we should remember the statement which he made on 29 January 1974 before the Special Committee:

"... our mandate will not have been fulfilled until all peoples under colonial rule have achieved freedom and independence. Now, more than ever, we must show determination ...". 16/

14/ Le Monde, 20 July 1978.

15/ Kurt Waldheim, in collaboration with Eric Rouleau, Un métier unique au monde (Paris, Editions Stock, 1977), p. 125.

16/ A/AC.109/PV.950, p. 6.

67. Peace, but determination. A peaceful solution, but a just one.

68. Having proved its ability to stay abreast of the great movement of our times, the United Nations - which consists of all of us - remains primarily responsible for the vast and prodigious phenomenon of the rehabilitation of peoples which has been given concrete expression in decolonization and brings with it hope, justice, peace and fraternity. Among all mankind.

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

NIGERIAN MEDIATORY EFFORTS ON WESTERN SAHARA

FURTHER PUTTING INTO PRACTICE NIGERIA'S VIEW THAT AFRICAN SOLUTIONS SHOULD BE SOUGHT TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS, HEAD OF STATE HAS BEEN ON A MEDIATION MISSION AS HEAD OF OAU SUB-COMMITTEE ON WESTERN SAHARA. HIS ITINERARY INCLUDED BAMAKO, WHERE HE WAS TO BE JOINED BY HIS MALIAN COUNTERPART, ALGERIA, MAURITANIA, AND MOROCCO. OBASANJO HAS BEEN REPORTED AS SAYING, AFTER TALKS WITH MAURITANIAN LEADERS IN NOUAKCHOTT, THAT A LASTING SOLUTION WOULD BE FOUND IF PREVAILING ATMOSPHERE OF FRANKNESS CONTINUED. HE THEN EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT OTHER COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED WOULD BE AS COOPERATIVE AS MAURITANIA.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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ACCRA CAIRO DAR ES SALAAM JEDDAH LONDON MOSCOW NAIROBI
PARIS EMB PRETORIA WASHINGTON

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CENTRAL REGISTRY
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SUBJECT. MOROCCO : POLICY ON THE WESTERN SAHARA

During my visit to Morocco from 19 to 22 March I raised the question of Morocco's future policies regarding the Western Sahara dispute at the Foreign Ministry and had useful discussions on this topic with the British, United States and French Embassies. It was also touched on during a meeting with the chief Editor of Morocco's main Arab-language newspaper, and more informally with Moroccans met socially. Accounts of these discussions are given below.

2. In summary, Morocco seems to find itself faced with an unwinable war from which it cannot extricate itself for reasons of national pride, regional standing and internal political risks. Its response for the moment is two-fold: to seek to "turn the corner" militarily (the American Counsellor used this Vietnam-era term, with unmistakable irony) and to exert political pressure on the Polisario Front and its Algerian backers, both directly and through wooing world opinion, with the objective of having Morocco's claim to all or most of the former Spanish Sahara accepted all round.

3. Neither strategy is likely to succeed. All the military advantages on the ground are with the Polisario fighters; Algeria cannot reduce its considerable logistic and material aid to Polisario (to do so would alienate significant quarters of domestic opinion and dent Algeria's credentials in the wider Arab world); Mauritania has largely abandoned the struggle for its portion of the disputed territory, depriving Morocco of an ally and increasing the military pressure; and none of the compromise solutions involving the division of the territory between Morocco and Polisario have much chance of being accepted by either side, or of working in practice.

4. In this situation King Hassan's government has little choice but to continue to fight. His recent actions - notably the creation of a new government (see separate memorandum on internal situation) which has something of the character of a war cabinet - amount to little more than sabre-rattling. But there is serious discussion in Morocco of possible direct warfare between Morocco and Algeria, in particular a Moroccan strike in the disputed border regions. The danger is increased by the fact that Hassan's internal political standing would be enhanced by a call to national unity in a war situation.

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Mr Smith

5. Attempts by other countries - Ivory Coast, Libya, France - to put forward proposals for compromise have come to nothing. The most recent rebuff has been to the Ivory Coast, which had put forward a proposal for the south of the former Spanish Sahara to be autonomous under a Polisario Government and the north to be integrated into Morocco. In addition to being unacceptable to Morocco, the Polisario and Algeria, this would presumably mean that Mauritania would no longer get its half of the phosphate earnings. Ministerial changes in Mauritania in late March reflect dissatisfaction with the acquiescent policy President Saleck had been following. Not long before that the French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Olivier Stirn, had provoked the ire of all sides (particularly the Algerians) by jumping the gun in mentioning publicly the possibility of a joint Algerian - Moroccan - Polisario meeting. Any such meeting is now off, and Mr. Stirn has had to climb back down to the fence-sitting position with a subsequent statement to the effect that all peoples are entitled to self-determination no matter how small their numbers.

6. While our relationship with Algeria is more substantial than that with Morocco, there will probably continue to be no alternative for Australia but to join other like-minded U.N. members in delphic resolutions calling on both sides to work for a peaceful settlement.

Detailed Discussions

7. During my conversations at the Moroccan Foreign Ministry, the line taken was that it was disappointing that there had been no change of policy under the new Algerian Government. Nor could any such change be expected in the immediate future: there had been numerous Moroccan overtures proposing negotiations over a considerable period, but these had always been - and continued to be - interpreted by the Algerians as signs of weakness. The same applied to Morocco's restraint during the long period of Boumediene's sickness, during which Morocco could have taken the chance of some sort of action against Algeria, but had chosen not to. But despite all this the door remained open as far as Morocco was concerned to peace talks.

8. It was clear from this discussion that for the Moroccans the continuing war is a worry. Nonetheless they have difficulty in seeing any alternative to continuing their efforts against the Polisario, and are tempted by the possibility either of pursuit of Polisario fighters across the border to their bases in Algeria (they do not speak of "hot pursuit", but of "the right of pursuit", which implies somewhat more deliberate and prolonged actions within Algerian territory), or even of a more general military action against Algeria.

There were those who were more optimistic, for example, that the Algerian Government had put down, in six months or so, the Polisario fighters who were in the south. They were, however, asked to continue to 3/..... and to keep up their efforts against the Polisario in favour of the Polisario. The Algerians were pessimistic.

9. A conversation with the Chief Editor of El Alam, the most widely read of Morocco's Arab language newspapers, and is thus the most widely read of any newspaper in Morocco, also touched on the Western Sahara. El Alam is aligned with the Istaqlal Party (the nationalists of independence-struggle days, now participating in government though formerly the main opposition party). The Chief Editor expected the newly-formed Moroccan cabinet to be more favourable to the Istaqlal policies, and in particular he was confident that it would not in any way weaken Morocco's grim determination to fight it out for the Western Sahara.

10. A similar view was expressed to me by a group of students who had finished their law degree and were serving a period of combined military reserve training and administrative training: the new government would be a "war government", and it seems certain that the Prime Minister (who is a son-in-law of the King) was eased out by the King as the beginning of a number of gestures to demonstrate a new ferocity on the Western Sahara. There was no suggestion in this conversation - admittedly hardly a broad-based survey - of any anti-war feeling amongst the young; quite the contrary.

11. The British Ambassador, Mr Simon Dawbarn, considered that the Western Sahara was becoming a serious problem for the King, both as a foreign/defence policy issue and because of its effects on internal political and economic stability. King Hassan had had little success with his bid for more arms, although the Americans had now in effect agreed to help him with helicopters by permitting the manufacturer under licence in Italy of helicopters which were intended for sale to Morocco. The question of military equipment was crucial. If the King could begin to achieve significant successes against the Polisario, the Algerians might be influenced to vary their present obdurate stand against any concessions.

12. But Mr Dawbarn's judgement was very firmly that the new government under Chadli in Algiers remained as determined as ever to continue to use the Western Sahara and the Polisario insurrection as a means of attack on Hassan and his continuing rule in Morocco. They had had this objective ever since independence; their ultimate objective was to see their form of "state socialism" more widely accepted throughout the North African region - Tunisia and Morocco if not further.

13. Mr Dawbarn spoke on the basis of his previous experience in Algeria. He conceded however that there were those who took an alternative view - it might be, for example, that when the Chadli Government had settled down, in six months or so, and had established clearly that it was in the Boumediene tradition, it might be less concerned to continue to demonstrate its ideological purity against Morocco in favour of the Polisario. But Mr Dawbarn was pessimistic.

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14. Mr Dawbarn observed that all this placed the Americans and the French in a very difficult situation. They were faced with the fact that if they did not give Morocco the help it needed Algeria's kind of North Africa would gradually come into being. On the other hand military support for a King against those who are operated in the name of self-determination could equally be harmful to the American and western image in the area, and to relations with Algeria in particular.

15. Other members of the British Embassy commented to me that the Americans are finding their previously close relations with Morocco, which extend back to the landing of allied forces at Casablanca in 1942, under serious strain at present due to King Hassan's requests for increased arms. Hassan wishes in particular to up-grade his air capacity, both by increased surveillance aircraft and by new supplies of helicopters equipped with machine guns for attacking Polisario positions. The present equipment is too old to dodge the Polisario Front's SAM missiles.

15. The Americans have been reluctant to agree to these requests, preferring to remain neutral in the dispute. They say that both sides should reach an agreed settlement, and insist that arms sales should not be made to any of the parties. Hassan has countered this by saying that, in the present Middle East situation, America needs to demonstrate that it is prepared to give real support to its friends.

16. It seems clear that the British and French too have been under similar pressure from King Hassan, who has made a series of "private" visits to France in the past two months. Britain is not involved in arms sales to either Morocco or Algeria at present, although the landrovers which ^{give} the Polisario fighters great mobility in the desert are of British origin (they are manufactured in Spain under licence). In discussions at the American Embassy, it was stressed that the one area on which all political groups were of the same opinion as the government was the Western Sahara: it was of interest that the USPF (the Socialist Party founded by Ben Barka) had readily joined the new "National Defence Council", even though it refused the King's open invitation to follow Istaqlal into the government.

17. Like the French and British Embassies, the Americans were pessimistic about Morocco's relations with Algeria, at least in the short term (in the long term Morocco might quite like to import Algerian oil instead of refining Russian exports, but at present Algeria has no such interest). Neither Algeria nor Morocco could conceivably see any split-up of the territory between them as being acceptable. Nor were the current proposals for some sort of Polisario-dominated Mauretania (there are already signs of instability in the new Mauretanian regime) federated with the southern bit of the former Spanish Sahara.

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18. Moroccans, the Americans said, were always reminding them that they had as much claim to the Spanish Sahara as the Algerians had to the large slice of the Sahara which had been arbitrarily tacked on by the French to what had traditionally been as much a coastal state as was Morocco. The Americans felt that the mood of national unity induced by the Green March has been considerably dissipated in the five years since, while the attack on 28 January by Polisario forces against the town of Tan Tan was a major blow to Moroccan pride. (Tan Tan is not in the disputed area, but has long been a part of Morocco, thus making the attack even more galling.) At the same time, the current moves towards a degree of sabre-rattling over the Western Sahara would serve the King well in diverting attention from internal discontent in the face of the common enemy. The problem that must strike the King before long, however, would be that of following up this "war of words" with some kind of military up-turn. The Americans compared this situation in some ways to that which had faced the Americans in the closing stages of the Vietnam war (they also wondered whether the King, like LBJ, was not taking on too much in trying actively to command the armed forces).

19. The French Embassy were firmly pessimistic. They saw the possibility of war action, if of a limited nature, by Morocco against Algeria within the next few months. The reason was that the current situation regarding negotiations was completely frozen. Such an attack by Morocco would serve a similar purpose as to that of Egypt against Israel in 1973: it would get things moving again, even if no useful military objective was served. Otherwise, as the French saw it, there seemed no reason to expect any kind of compromise settlement, since neither side had much possibility of movement. The Polisario could hardly be expected to be satisfied with only the southern part of the Sahara, which Mauritania was bit by bit giving up.

20. Nor would Algeria by any means have an easy route to follow in pushing any such compromise solution even if it wished to. After all the Polisario had a certain degree of independence (this applied particularly to actions on the ground, such as that at Tan Tan) and there were within Algeria some factions which were likely to oppose any weakening of support for the Polisario. Thus the Polisario/Algerian position would remain one of demanding that all of the former Spanish Sahara exercise its right of self-determination.

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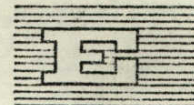
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22. On the question of arms sales, I suggested to the French that one means of achieving progress would be for the Moroccan side to improve its military record, and for this increased armaments would be helpful. I asked therefore whether the King was having any success in his bids to improve the capacity of his air force. He said that France's reasons for not wishing to increase sales of aircraft and other armaments to Morocco were a combination of financial reasons - they had not yet paid for supplies already delivered - and political reasons, similar to those of the United States and other countries which did not wish to arm one or the other of the parties to a war.

Ian Lincoln
(I. S. Lincoln)
First Secretary

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UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



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16 March 1979

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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Thirty-fifth session
Agenda item 12

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL
FREEDOMS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT
COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

Algeria,*/ Benin, Burundi, Cuba, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,*/ Madagascar,*/
Panama, Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia: draft resolution

The Commission on Human Rights,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the
Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the other relevant international
instruments dealing with human rights,

Aware of its responsibility to promote and encourage respect for human rights
and fundamental freedoms for all,

Recalling the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being
Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,
adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in resolution 3452 (XXX) of
9 December 1975,

Bearing in mind the deep concern of the United Nations, the Organization of
African Unity and the non-aligned countries with regard to the decolonization of
Western Sahara and the right of the people of that territory to self-determination
and independence, and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, in
particular resolution 33/31 on the question of Western Sahara, adopted on
21 December 1978,

Having in mind the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection
of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 and other relevant conventions
and regulations,

Deeply concerned by the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms as a
result of the denial of the right to self-determination and independence,

Decides to examine the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms in
Western Sahara at its thirty-sixth session as a matter of high priority.

*/ In accordance with rule 69, paragraph 3, of the rules of procedure of the
functional commissions of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. S. ...
Mr. ...

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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U N C L A S S I F I E D

CHR 35 : ITEM 12 - WESTERN SAHARA

MOROCCO, IN RESPONSE TO L.1455, TABLED L.1461, THE OPERATIVE PART OF WHICH WOULD HAVE PLACED ON THE AGENDA OF CHR 36 THE QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CAMPS, ESPECIALLY TINDOUF.

2. THE APPEARANCE OF THESE TWO DRAFTS LED TO CONSULTATIONS ORGANISED BY THE CHAIRMAN AS A RESULT OF WHICH THE FOLLOWING DECISION WAS ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS:

"THE CHR DECIDES TO POSTPONE TO CHR36 DOCUMENTS
L.1455 AND L.1461 SUBMITTED UNDER ITEM 12."

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
DEP ATTORNEY GEN
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

INWARD CABLEGRAM

ACT ION: IO

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	MOC	FAS(SEP)	FAS(NSA)	FAS(WES)	ANZ	EUR
AME	FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(MFS)				
ADAB(DIR)								

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OUTWARD CABLEGRAM

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BB NEW YORK UN/469

FM. CANBERRA / FILE 529/37/6/35 REF O.GE35730

U N C L A S S I F I E D

CHR 35: ITEM 12 - WESTERN SAHARA

YOU SHOULD ABSTAIN ON THE ALGERIAN DRAFT L.1455.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
ATTORNEY GENERAL + DEP
DEP PM AND CABINET
ONA
JIO

ACTION: IO

SEC	DEPSECS	EX	MCO	LA	FAS(SEP)	FAS(WES)	ANZ
EUR	AME	FAS(IOC)	FAS(PCR)	INF	FAS(LT)	GLT	IL
FAS(MFS)	FAREP(S-M-P)						

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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RR NEW YORK UN/409 WASHINGTON/271 LONDON/578
BB PARIS EMBASSY/36 DAR ES SALAAM/209 LAGOS/170
BB ACCRA/164 CAIRO/163 CAPETOWN/44
BB ALGIERS/75 TRIPOLI/05 TEHRAN/07
BB MADRID/05

FM. NAIROBI / FILE 235/1

R E S T R I C T E D

OAU: MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

32ND ORDINARY SESSION OF OAU MINISTERIAL COUNCIL CONCLUDED 4 MARCH, TWO DAYS LATE, WITH PASSAGE OF USUAL MASS OF RESOLUTIONS BUT VERY LITTLE CHANGE TO EXISTING POLICIES. ECONOMIC AND BUDGETARY ISSUES DOMINATED, AS SHOULD BE EXPECTED. IN WHAT IS NOMINALLY A BUDGETARY SESSION, AND THERE WERE FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE SORT OF RADICAL/MODERATE POLARISATION SEEN IN KHARTOUM. FINAL RESOLUTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN PUBLICLY RELEASED, BUT WE HAVE PIECED TOGETHER MOST OF RESULTS. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS:

NAMIBIA (UNDERLINED)

2. LIBERATION COMMITTEE RESOLUTION (M.DS1059 REFERS) WAS AMENDED SLIGHTLY BY MINISTERIAL COUNCIL. MAIN CHANGE WAS ADDITION OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH EXPRESSING CONCERN THAT INTENTIONS OF CONTACT GROUP TO MAINTAIN OBSERVERS IN NAMIBIA DURING TRANSITION PERIOD MIGHT "UNDERMINE THE MANDATE OF THE U.N. COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA." (SOME DELEGATES APPEARED TO CONFUSE IDEA OF CONTACT GROUP OBSERVERS WITH UNTAG.)

3. FOLLOWING APPEARANCE OF NUJOMA (O.NA7980 REFERS), PLENARY DREW UP ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION SETTING UP A SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND SEEKING TO INCREASE AFRICAN CONTENT IN UNTAG. SPECIAL COMMITTEE IS TO "ASSESS NAMIBIA'S NEEDS BOTH DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION AND THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD TO ENSURE HER ACCESSION TO INDEPENDENCE IN THE BEST CONDITIONS AND TO ASSIST HER IN CONSOLIDATING HER INDEPENDENCE BY SETTING UP A NAMIBIAN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY." OAU MEMBERS WERE CALLED ON TO ADVISE OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL OF ANY CONTRIBUTION THEY CAN MADE TO UNTAG, AND OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL WAS ASKED TO REQUEST UN SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INTEGRATE AFRICAN TROOPS INTO UNTAG AND TO OBTAIN ASSURANCES FROM

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SOUTH AFRICA OF ITS COMMITMENT TO ABIDE BY THE UN PLANS. PLENARY RESOLUTION ALSO REPEATED EXPRESSION OF CONCERN ABOUT INTENTIONS OF CONTACT GROUP TO OBSERVE ELECTIONS, BUT THERE IS NO REFLECTION OF NUJOMA'S ANTI-''NATO'' LINE, OR OTHERWISE ANY INDICATION OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR NUJOMA'S STAND. DRAFT RAPPOREUR'S REPORT DOES NOT MENTION ANY EFFORTS TO DEVELOP AN OAU POSITION SUPPORTING NUJOMA.

ZIMBABWE (UNDERLINED)

4. BOTH MERCENARY RESOLUTION AND GENERAL ZIMBABWE RESOLUTION WERE PASSED IN MUCH THE SAME FORM AS WAS PRODUCED BY LIBERATION COMMITTEE. AUSTRALIA WAS THEREFORE STILL MENTIONED. (ALTHOUGH WE FORWARDED COPY OF LEGISLATION ON MERCENARIES TO SECRETARY-GENERAL, WE HAD LITTLE EXPECTATION THAT THIS WOULD AFFECT OUTCOME.) ALTHOUGH WORDING OF PARAGRAPH EXPRESSING VIEW THAT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN ''OVERTAKEN BY QUALITATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERATION WAR'' DUE TO ''VACILLATION'' OF U.K. AND U.S., AND ''INTRANSIGENCE'' OF ILLEGAL REGIME HAS BEEN SLIGHTLY CHANGED, SENTIMENT REMAINS INTACT. PLENARY ALSO PASSED FURTHER RESOLUTION CONDEMNING PROPOSED ATTENDANCE AT ELECTIONS IN RHODESIA BY OBSERVERS FROM U.S. CONGRESS AND BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY AS BEING CONTRAVENTIONS OF UN AND OAU PRINCIPLES. PLENARY ALSO CONDEMNED RHODESIAN AIR RAIDS ON ANGOLA.

5. OF GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE WAS LACK OF EFFORT TO CHANGE STATUS OF PATRIOTIC FRONT, WHICH IS STILL REFERRED TO AS SOLE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. SIGNIFICANT ALSO WAS DECISION TO CHANGE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 OF LIBERATION COMMITTEE RESOLUTION FROM REFERRING TO MUZOREWA AND CO. AS ''TRAITORS'', TO SIMPLY EXPRESSING INDIGNATION AT THEIR ''COLLUSION'' WITH SMITH. SOME MODERATE AFRICANS (E.G. LESOTHO) STILL ARGUED THAT IT IS IRRELEVANT TO IGNORE INTERNAL BLACK GROUPS AS A FACTOR.

SOUTH AFRICA (UNDERLINED)

6. MAIN SOUTH AFRICAN RESOLUTION NOTES WITH APPRECIATION LACK OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF BANTUSTANS, CONDEMNS WESTERN VIOLATIONS OF ARMS EMBARGO, AND CALLS FOR UNITY BETWEEN ANC AND PAC. PLENARY PASSED A RESOLUTION INTER ALIA CONGRATULATING IRAN FOR ITS CHANGED POSITION ON OIL EMBARGO. THERE ARE STANDARD LINES ABOUT OIL AND TRADE EMBARGOES ACCELERATING PROCESS OF DECOLONISATION, AND CALL FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES TO OBSERVE UNGA AND OAU RESOLUTIONS ON SEVERANCE OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND OTHER RELATIONS. SPORTING CONTACTS WERE NOT, ACCORDING TO REPORTS OBTAINED, DISCUSSED AT ANY STAGE.

COMOROS (UNDERLINED)

7. COMOROS, SUPPORTED BY MODERATES, MADE STRONG CASE FOR ITS BONA FIDES AT MEETING OF HEADS OF DELEGATIONS PRIOR TO OPENING OF PLENARY AND WAS AS A RESULT ALLOWED TO TAKE ITS SEAT. SOME COUNTRIES HOWEVER HAD THEIR RESERVATIONS RECORDED IN RAPPOREUR'S REPORT.

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THIS, AND WESTERN SAHARA, APPEARED ONLY SIGNIFICANT RADICAL-MODERATE CLASHES AT THE MEETING.

OTHER LIBERATION ISSUES (UNDERLINED)

8. POLITICAL COMMITTEE EXAMINED LIBERATION COMMITTEE REPORT ON CANARIES AND REUNION. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS SOME SUPPORT FOR POLICY THAT PEOPLES OF BOTH HAD RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE, IT WAS DECIDED TO DEFER DISCUSSION. ON CANARIES, CONSIDERATION IS TO AWAIT FINAL REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WHILST CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON REUNION WILL BE UNDERTAKEN AT NEXT MINISTERIAL COUNCIL. (WHEREAS IN KHARTOUM, NO LIBERATION MOVEMENT HAS BEEN 'RECORDED' IN REUNION, A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY WAS HEARD BY THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE SUB-COMMITTEE IN DAR ES SALAAM). SEVERAL MODERATE COUNTRIES HAD THEIR RESERVATIONS TO LIBERATION COMMITTEE REPORTS ON REUNION AND CANARIES RECORDED.

WESTERN SAHARA (UNDERLINED)

9. ALGERIA SPEARHEADED EFFORTS TO HAVE SAHARA DISCUSSED DURING SESSION. REPRESENTATIVES OF POLISARIO WERE PRESENT IN LOBBIES AND WERE FREQUENTLY CONSULTED BY ALGERIANS. MODERATES, LED BY MOROCCO, ARGUED THAT DISCUSSION WOULD BE OUT OF ORDER GIVEN EXISTENCE OF KHARTOUM DECISION TO APPOINT COMMITTEE OF 5 HEADS OF STATE, WHICH HAD YET TO COMPLETE ITS WORK. ALGERIANS FORCED DISCUSSION IN PLENARY WITH VOTE OF 19-17. DISCUSSION WAS BASED ON DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH INTER ALIA REFERRED FAVOURABLY TO DECISION BY POLISARIO TO INITIATE UNILATERALLY A CEASE-FIRE WITH RESPECT TO MAURITANIA. RESOLUTION WAS NOT HOWEVER PUT TO VOTE DUE, MOROCCANS CLAIM, TO REALISATION OF LACK OF SUPPORT.

TANZANIA-UGANDA (UNDERLINED)

10. WE HAVE ALREADY REPORTED MUCH OF ACTIVITIES OF MEDIATION COMMITTEE, WHICH MET DURING COUNCIL, IN COURSE OF OUR REPORTING ON WAR. COMMITTEE HAD APPARENTLY BEEN RESIGNED TO FAILURE AT EARLY STAGE BUT CONTINUED TO MEET AT INSISTENCE OF OAU SECRETARY-GENERAL. FINAL VISIT WAS UNDERTAKEN TO DAR ES SALAAM ON 1 MARCH WITH DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH STILL DID NOT CONTAIN OAU CONDEMNATION OF UGANDA. NYERERE DECLINED TO MEET DELEGATION, SETTING TIME FOR MEETING PAST TIME WHEN PLANE HAD TO RETURN TO NAIROBI. COMMITTEE THEN ISSUED PRESS COMMUNIQUE WHICH REFLECTED DISPLEASURE AT LACK OF MEETING WITH NYERERE AND STATED THAT IT WAS FELT THAT NOTHING MORE COULD BE DONE AT ITS LEVEL.

ECONOMIC ISSUES (UNDERLINED)

11. DESPITE LARGE NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS, THERE WAS LITTLE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IN OAU POSITIONS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES.

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ECONOMIC COMMITTEE WIYCDOPNOJENS OF ENSURING MEANINGFUL AFRICAN PARTICIPATION WITHIN GROUP OF 77., BUT REACHED FEW CONCLUSIONS. A RESOLUTION ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES "URGES" DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO TAKE VARIOUS ACTIONS TO ASSIST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. RECOMMENDED ACTIONS WERE LARGELY ALONG LINES OF ADJUSTING THEIR OWN ECONOMIC PATTERS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE FOR GREATER COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTIRES. RESOLUTION ON RENEGOTIATION OF ACP/EEC REFERRED BACK TO KHARTOUM RESOLUTION AND TO REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. COPY OF THIS REPORT BY BAG.

PROPOSED LINKS WITH ISLAMIC LEAGUE (UNDERLINED)

12. A DRAFT AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION WITH THE ISLAMIC LEAGUE RAN INTO SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION IN COMMITTEE B(ECONOMIC). ALTHOUGH RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT NOTED SIMPLY THAT SOME DELEGATIONS "DID NOT HAVE NECESSARY AND ADEQUATE INFORMATION TO ENABLE THEM TO MAKE A FINAL PRONOUNCEMENT" WE WERE TOLD THAT MANY COUNTRIES CONSIDERED THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE VATICAN WOULD HAVE BEEN JUST AS APPROPRIATE. ARAB AND OTHER ISLAMIC SUPPORTERS OF THE AGREEMENT HAD CONSIDERATION TRANSFERRED TO PLENARY WHERE THE PROPOSAL BARELY FAILED. IN A MEETING WITH FEW POLARISING ISSUES, THIS WAS ONE OF MAIN POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT. ARAB/BLACK AFRICAN RELATIONS ARE A TOUCHY SUBJECT AND LIKELY FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO FORGE THE LINK, IN MONROVIA, COULD CAUSE FRICTION.

13. WE SHALL REPORT FURTHER BY BAG ON THESE AND OTHER ISSUES, AND SHALL FORWARD RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS.

ACTION: DEP FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIME MINISTER
FOREIGN MINISTER
MIN+DEP DEFENCE
DEP P M AND CABINET
ONA
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INWARD CABLEGRAM

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EUR  FAS(DEF)  DP  DC   FAS(NUC)  FAS(IOC)  IO  FAS(PCR)
INF  FAS(ECO)  EO  EP   FAS(LT)  GLT  IL  FAS(MFS)  FARP(S M)
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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(F) 935/28/2

DATE. 6 March 1979

INFORMATION. ALGIERS

IN REPLY
QUOTE

M. 1831

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ACCRA

TO. CANBERRA

MADRID

RÉF. M. AC000718

TO FILE.

FM. PARIS EMBASSY

CLASSIFICATION. RESTRICTED

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SUBJECT. FRANCE : WESTERN SAHARA DISPUTE

We have gained an impression in recent weeks that there may be some slight movement in France's cautious but continuing efforts to contribute to progress on the Western Sahara. During his press conference on 15 February, President Giscard d'Estaing was asked (by a member of the Spanish press agency) whether France saw itself as able to play a mediating role between Algeria and Morocco on the Western Sahara. He replied that in general a country did not put itself forward as mediator: if it does, it fails. The question, he continued, was to know if one can contribute usefully to the resolution of a problem. "The position of France on this problem is as follows: we consider that the tension which has existed for a long time now between Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania, not to mention of course Polisario, is a tension which contains possible risks for all of France's partners. There are possible solutions. It is a very complex situation, since it is a situation of decolonisation in a region which has very special characteristics as regards its populations and environment."

2. The President said that he considered himself to be available to join in any discussions aimed at producing a solution to the problem. He added "I shall do so with President Mustapha Saleck (President of Mauritania) as I have done recently with the King of Morocco, and as I hope to do one day with the top-level Algerian authorities. As to putting into effect a solution, that is a matter for the countries concerned, and all that France can do is to contribute its suggestions and its encouragement."

3. The reference the President made to his discussions with the King of Morocco followed the visit to France of the King in mid-February. Amongst the considerable reporting both of the King's quite lengthy visit, (during which he had meetings with the President and the Foreign Minister and affirmed his readiness to negotiate with the new Algerian government), and of the situation on the ground in the continuing border fighting, there has been little indication of the context of any exchanges on the shape of a settlement.

1) W. Saleck
2) Mr. Bouyer

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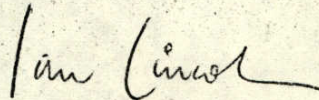
But the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Olivier Stirn, said at a press luncheon on 20 February - the day of King Hassan's departure - that he saw some hope for progress on the Western Sahara dispute in the proposal that the "committee of wise men", which had been meeting in Khartoum, appoint a sub-committee composed of the Presidents of Nigeria and Mali to make contact with the parties involved. He said that France was of course ready to help in the process of seeking a settlement. It was then put to him that the kind of compromise likely to be reached on the Western Sahara, involving at least to some extent the annexation of parts of its territory to other African countries, would fly in the face of the long-established OAU principle that the former colonial boundaries would not be changed; this might be, in Africa, to open up Pandora's Box. Necessarily, his answer to this point was somewhat evasive: he said that France, in common with its partners in the European Community, considered that African problems had to be solved by African solutions. Nevertheless this reply carried the clear implication that the partition of Western Sahara might sooner or later have to be accepted as a fait accompli if the fighting was to stop.

4. Mr Stirn also let slip a remark that a meeting between King Hassan and President Chadli was "probable". This led to criticism from the Algerian government that any such announcement was premature, accompanied by the predictable claim that a first step towards peace would be for King Hassan to recognize the legitimacy of the Polisario Front. This reflects the underlying policy dilemma France faces over Western Sahara (as does the fact that Polisario representatives have been lobbying not only Socialist and Communist but also R.P.R. deputies recently): the choice between sustaining its relations with Algeria and developing those with Morocco and its sympathisers. A Foreign Ministry official has commented to us that there is something of a split between the Foreign Ministry and the President's office on this issue, with the Foreign Ministry more inclined to defend the traditional, commercially-important and highly sensitive relationship with Algeria.

5. Backtracking a little, M. Stirn said to journalists on 1 March that the Saharan population had its rights, however small their number. This has led the Algerians, according to a Le Monde report of 6 March 1979, to conclude that French policy has moved towards a more favourable attitude towards Polisario from the time of President Giscard's 1976 comment that it would be undesirable to create a new mini-state in Western Sahara. This report in turn has led to a Foreign Ministry comment that France's position is well known (and by implication unchanged): it was not a party to the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975 between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania (which in effect partitioned the former Spanish Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania); and supported both of the subsequent 1975 U.N. General Assembly resolutions on Western Sahara.

The Foreign Ministry comment adds that French military support to Mauritania has been at the Mauritanian government's request and there have been no operations by Jaguar aircraft in the disputed Western Sahara areas.

6. In sum, it would seem that behind France's public even-handed approach between Polisario and its Algerian backers on the one hand and Morocco and Mauritania on the other, there is a certain impatience with the continuing Polisario claim to the whole territory. No doubt France would like to see the principles of self-determination quietly dropped in this case in the interests of order and economic progress (France needs its share of Western Sahara's phosphates). A three way Morocco-Mauritania-Polisario split must seem a temptingly realistic solution. But it would seem that Algeria remains ready to rebuff any testings of the water in that direction.



(I. S. Lincoln)
First Secretary

INWARD CABLEGRAM *only*

(F) 935/28/2
pages 1 and 6

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BB ISLAMABAD/003

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

IRAN

IT MAY BE PREMATURE TO ATTEMPT AN ASSESSMENT OF THE OUTLOOK FOR IRAN AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE REVOLUTION IS STILL WORKING ITSELF OUT AND IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT CAN PROCEED WITH ITS PROGRAM OF ORDERLY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OR WHETHER THERE WILL BE A FURTHER PHASE OF MORE VIOLENT REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY. THIS SHOULD BECOME CLEARER IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. FOR THE TIME BEING THE GOVERNMENT IS VERY MUCH PREOCCUPIED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY WHICH ARE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER AND SECURITY AND RESTORING THE ECONOMY. LITTLE THOUGHT HAS YET BEEN GIVEN TO SUCH MATTERS AS THE DETAILS OF ELECTIONS AND THE NATURE OF THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT WHICH, UNLESS THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED WILL BE ACADEMIC AND IT WOULD NOT BE VERY USEFUL TO SPECULATE ON THEM. GIVEN ITS PREOCCUPATION WITH THE BASIC PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING ITS AUTHORITY THE GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN LITTLE DETAILED ATTENTION TO FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS ALTHOUGH ITS GENERAL DIRECTION HAS BEEN INDICATED.

2. IN THE PRESENT SITUATION OF CONTINUING POWER STRUGGLE THERE IS GREAT CONFUSION IN GOVERNMENT AND MANY DIFFERENT LINES OF AUTHORITY WHICH OFTEN CONFLICT. BROADLY THERE ARE THREE POWER GROUPS IN THE PLAY. FIRST IS THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE AT KHOMEINI'S HEADQUARTERS THE COMPOSITION OF WHICH HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN NAMED. IT WAS DESIGNED TO DIRECT REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY AND HAS BEEN HEAVILY ENGAGED IN THE ELIMINATION OF THOSE PRINCIPALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE OLD REGIME ESPECIALLY IN SAVAK AND THE ARMED FORCES. RESPONSIBLE TO THE COMMITTEE BUT OFTEN ACTING INDEPENDENTLY, ARE VARIOUS PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES AS WELL AS IN INDUSTRIES, BANKS AND BUSINESS FIRMS. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES ACCEPT THE AUTHORITY OF THE AYATOLLAH BUT THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE IN THE INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES WHERE LEFTIST INFLUENCE IS STRONG.

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10/3/79

INWARD CABLEGRAM

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(H) THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN QUICK TO APPLAUD THE REVOLUTION AND HAS WELCOMED THE WEAKENING OF THE U.S. POSITION IN THE AREA BUT IT HAS FAILED TO MODIFY THE DEEP-SEATED SUSPICION IRANIANS FEEL TOWARDS THE RUSSIANS. KHOMEINI SEES COMMUNISM AS BEING HOSTILE TO MUSLIM TEACHING AND VIEWS THE SOVIET UNION AS THE PROPOGATOR OF AN ALIEN FAITH WHICH COULD THREATEN THE COUNTRY'S INTEGRITY. IN REPLY TO A MESSAGE OF GOOD WILL PRESENTED BY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR RECENTLY THE AYATOLLAH SAID RATHER COLDLY "WE EXPECT ALL POWERS NOT TO INTERFERE IN OUR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. AND IF THEY REFRAIN FROM SUCH INTERFERENCE WE SHALL HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THEM". THE SOVIET UNION NO DOUBT SEES ITS INTERESTS BEING SERVED BY THE CONTINUATION OF POLITICAL STABILITY, THE WEAKNESS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THE GROWTH OF SEPARATIST SENTIMENT. ITS AGENTS CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE ACTIVE IN PURSUING THESE ENDS AND AT PRESENT THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOVIET MEDDLING IN THE AFFAIRS OF IRAN APPEAR GREATLY ENHANCED. OVERTLY HOWEVER THE SOVIET UNION WILL SEEK FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE NEW REGIME AND WILL WISH TO FOSTER ITS ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP WHICH INCLUDES THE IMPORTANT SUPPLY OF NATURAL GAS FROM IRAN.

(I) IN THE FLUSH OF REVOLUTIONARY VICTORY YASSER ARAFAT VISITED IRAN AND RECEIVED A HERO'S WELCOME. HE CLAIMED THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AS A DEFEAT FOR AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PLO. WHILE THE NEW GOVERNMENT DECLARED SUPPORT FOR THE PLO AND HANDED OVER TO THEM THE PREMISES OF THE FORMER ISRAELI MISSION NO SPECIFIC PROMISES OF ASSISTANCE WERE REVEALED. THE MORE MILITANT REVOLUTIONARIES AND IN PARTICULAR THE GUERRILLA GROUPS WILL WISH TO MAINTAIN CLOSE LINKS WITH THE PLO AND THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE TO PROVIDE TANGIBLE SUPPORT. THIS COULD TAKE THE FORM OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS. KHOMEINI HAS ON MANY OCCASIONS DECLARED HIS HOSTILITY TOWARDS ISRAEL AND HAS SUGGESTED AN INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON HOW JERUSALEM MAY BE WON BACK FOR ISLAM.

(J) A NUMBER OF VISITORS HAVE COME TO TEHRAN TO CONGRATULATE THE NEW LEADERS ON THEIR SUCCESS. THESE INCLUDED RELIGIOUS DELEGATIONS FROM KUWAIT AND LEBANON, AND, MOST INTERESTINGLY, A VISIT BY A DELEGATION FROM THE POLISARIO FRONT. IN WELCOMING THE POLISARIO REPRESENTATIVES THE NEW IRANIAN LEADERS NOT ONLY UNDERLINED THEIR SYMPATHY FOR REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE AREA BUT ALSO DIRECTED A DELIBERATE BLOW AGAINST THE SHAH'S CURRENT HOST, KING HUSSAN OF MOROCCO. A PROPOSED VISIT BY KADDAFI HAS BEEN CALLED OFF APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF KHOMEINI'S MOVE TO QUM. THERE HAVE BEEN NO EXCHANGES WITH SAUDI ARABIA WHOSE LEADERS HAVE NO DOUBT VIEWED WITH SOME APPREHENSION A REVOLUTION INSPIRED BY MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS WHICH TOPPLED A MONARCHY, OPPOSES FOREIGN "IMPERIALIST" INTERESTS IN THE AREA AND PROMISES A BETTER DEAL FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED. IT COULD WELL STRIKE A RESPONSIVE CHORD AMONGST PEOPLE IN SAUDI ARABIA AND THE SHEIKDOMS OF THE GULF. MEANWHILE THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED THAT IT WANTS MUCH CLOSER RELATIONS WITH ALL ARAB COUNTRIES THAN EXISTED IN THE PAST.

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UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/13091
16 February 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 16 FEBRUARY 1979 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ALGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of the message addressed by H.E. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Member of the Political Bureau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to H.E. Mr. M'hamed Boucetta, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Morocco.

On the instructions of my Government, I request you to have this message distributed as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fathih BOUAYAD-AGHA
Deputy Permanent Representative
Charge d'Affaires a.i.

The situation that prevails in the region is, need I say it, largely the result of Morocco's decision unilaterally to breach earlier commitments, concerning the decolonization of the territory on the basis of the right to self-determination, to which we subscribed together at various meetings between the leaders of our two countries.

I should once again like to stress most solemnly that Algeria has no dispute with Morocco and that its dearest hope is to maintain with it the excellent relations rendered by geographical proximity and by sharing a common civilization and history.

Since you yourself have been a nationalist and a militant in the struggle waged by our sister Moroccan people, you know that foreign occupation inevitably engenders resistance from the peoples subjected to it.

Thus, the war that broke out in Western Sahara between the soldiers of the Polisario Front and Morocco was neither desired nor provoked by my country. On the contrary, Algeria has been tireless in its efforts to prevent a conflagration in our region which would destroy the links between our peoples and the permanent interests of the Maghreb. It has constantly advocated at the regional and international levels a political solution to the problem of Western Sahara.

In this connection, the debates and decisions of the fifteenth OAU Summit at Khartoum and the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

Annex

Message dated 15 February 1979 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Algeria addressed to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
and Co-operation of Morocco

I have read with interest your message of 1 February 1979 on developments in the situation prevailing in our region as a result of the occupation of Western Sahara.

I cannot conceal my disappointment at the fact that your Government is consistently seeking to involve Algeria, directly or indirectly, in the war between Morocco and the people of Western Sahara. My country has always hoped that the truth will eventually become obvious and that the Moroccan Government will ultimately realize what the facts are.

That eagerly-awaited change is not yet in sight because your Government is not only continuing to treat a decolonization problem as a bilateral dispute but is also periodically brandishing the ominous threat of an alleged right of pursuit against my country.

I cannot but strongly deplore the continued resort to such action which, in any event, is increasingly irrelevant to actual events.

The situation that prevails in the region is, need I say it, largely the result of Morocco's decision unilaterally to breach earlier commitments, concerning the decolonization of the territory on the basis of the right to self-determination, to which we subscribed together at various meetings between the leaders of our two countries.

I should once again like to stress most solemnly that Algeria has no dispute with Morocco and that its dearest hope is to maintain with it the excellent relations required by geographical proximity and by sharing a common civilization and history.

Since you yourself have been a nationalist and a militant in the struggle waged by our sister Moroccan people, you know that foreign occupation inevitably engenders resistance from the peoples subjected to it.

Thus, the war that broke out in Western Sahara between the soldiers of the POLISARIO Front and Morocco was neither desired nor provoked by my country. On the contrary, Algeria has been tireless in its efforts to prevent a conflagration in our region which would destroy the links between our peoples and the permanent interests of the Maghreb. It has constantly advocated at the regional and international levels a political solution to the problem of Western Sahara.

In this connexion, the debates and decisions of the fifteenth OAU Summit at Khartoum and the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

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have again unequivocally reaffirmed the cardinal principles that should govern the decolonization of the territory of Western Sahara.

In order to speed up progress towards peace and to help to bring it about, the United Nations General Assembly has again confirmed the legitimacy and representativity of the POLISARIO Front and solemnly reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence". The peace so ardently desired by the peoples of the region will assuredly become reality once the national rights of the Saharan people have been recognized.

The assistance and support given by Algeria to the national liberation struggle of the Saharan people is consistent with the principles that inspire my country's efforts in favour of all struggling peoples and is part of the great surge of international solidarity which was expressed in a new and striking fashion at the most recent session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Algeria is too mindful of the integrity of its territory and the inviolability of its frontiers to allow itself to violate those of another country, especially a friendly neighbouring country. In this connexion, I should like to remind you of a passage from the message addressed by the late President Boumediene, may he rest in peace, to His Majesty King Hassan II in October 1978:

"In all conscience I can assure Your Majesty that, because of the indissoluble bonds that still exist between our two peoples, no Algerian soldier has ever crossed the national frontiers to which we pledged ourselves together in 1972. Moreover, only a few weeks ago I solemnly declared to the National People's Assembly that the Algerian armed forces will intervene in no case outside our frontiers and that, as vigilant guardians of our territorial integrity, they will stand ready to repel any attack against our country. That line of conduct remains unchanged".

Today as yesterday, it remains unchanged.

The attacks recently committed against the sovereignty of Algeria and the security of its citizens at several points in its territory are obviously very serious. Whatever clever reasoning may be employed to exculpate Morocco in both the dropping of weapons on Cape Sigli and the bomb attacks at Maghnia and Oran, the evidence is, unfortunately, too categorical to leave any doubt at all about the identity of the persons who committed these dastardly acts.

Moreover, the threats and intimidations of every kind to which Algeria is being subjected are certainly not the best way of creating a favourable climate for frank and sincere joint action by all the parties concerned with the question of Western Sahara.

It is our view that all the actions directed against my country are inspired by hidden forces other than the capacity for persuasion, not to say poisoning of

/...

minds, which all enemies of the Algerian revolution, even among Algerians themselves, are able to manufacture from the information that you appear to be receiving about my country, its people, its institutions and its leaders.

On another subject, the meeting planned between President Houari Boumediene and His Majesty Hassan II, you ask me, in effect, to make a moral judgement. In all truth and sincerity I must say that the intention was that it should deal with only one item, excluding all others, and that was the question of Western Sahara and the satisfaction of the national inalienable aspirations of the Saharan people.

I can also affirm in all truth and sincerity that the fact that that meeting could not be held was not due to the state of health of President Houari Boumediene, as you say, but due to our differences, not only about the question of Western Sahara but also about the Middle East and the Palestinian problem.

The only proof I need is the statement made about that very subject by a spokesman for the Moroccan Government on 6 October 1978, to which it was my inevitable duty to reply publicly on 10 October 1978, when I stated:

"With regard to the problem of the Middle East, although both say they are relying on the decisions of the Algiers and Rabat summits, it is obvious that the respective positions of Morocco and Algeria are quite divergent on both substance and form.

"Morocco, after all, was the first Arab country to welcome President Sadat after his return from Camp David with a view to stressing Morocco's sanctioning of a policy of which it is, indeed, one of the principal executants.

"Algeria, for its part, has never departed from the line adopted at the Arab summits which unequivocally confirmed their recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, acknowledged that the Palestinian problem was the key to any solution and accordingly laid down as an inviolable principle, inseparable from the other issues, the recovery of all occupied territories and the regaining by the Palestinian people of its national inalienable rights.

"It is in that spirit that Algeria, faithful to the commitments it has undertaken, steadfastly shoulders its obligations within the Front de Fermeté in order better to provide the support needed more than ever by the PLO, as the incarnation of the resistance of the Palestinian people, and by the Syrian bastion: these two today constitute the mainstay of any policy of honour, justice and dignity in the Middle East."

In any event it seemed to us to partake of a policy of duplicity and equivocation for President Houari Boumediene, returning from the Damascus Summit at which the countries of the Front de Pa Résistance et de la Fermeté had rallied around the PLO, should immediately have a meeting with His Majesty the King of Morocco, who had just once again sanctioned the Cairo policy by receiving President Sadat on his return from Camp David.

The Palestinian cause is a matter of conscience for the people of Algeria. The achievement of the national rights of the people of Palestine is yet another cause concerning which Algeria, if it is to be true to itself and to its own ethics, can accept no complicity, no accommodation of any kind, whatever the strength and diversity of the bonds between our two sister peoples and the importance of the interests at stake. I should undoubtedly have preferred you not to force me to make this statement, which is all the more painful for being the truth. But the need to tell the truth makes it essential. It forces me to tell you, as God is my witness, with sincerity, with honesty, the things that were planned, as they would have had to turn out, and why they did not happen. Moreover, statements by the highest authorities in Morocco, all of whom go to great pains to deny the existence of the problem of Western Sahara, of the Saharan people itself and its national rights, of the POLISARIO Front - recognized by the international community as that people's sole legitimate representative, and without whose participation no just and durable peace seems possible - clearly show that the decision of President Houari Boumediene to postpone the planned meeting was indisputably sound.

In any event, you are in an excellent position, now as in the past, to know that the problem of Western Sahara was neither a personal problem of President Houari Boumediene nor a device of the Algerian leaders to create difficulties in Morocco. It is a genuine problem of decolonization for which there can be no final settlement without the active participation and full support of the Saharan people and its legitimate representatives.

If, then, an effort of the imagination has to be made, it is in this direction that I would fraternally invite you to make it, and as soon as Algeria, with the African and international community, feels that there is a real desire to attack the causes of the crisis without making futile efforts to deal with its effects, it will do its very utmost to bring about a just solution, in a sincere, honest and committed manner.

I can assure you that Algeria will continue to work tirelessly to establish the dialogue necessary to restore, for the benefit of all peoples of the region - including, naturally, the Saharan people, the peace and co-operation for which they hope. The question of Western Sahara is eminently political and for that reason inevitably calls for a political solution.

We are convinced that, recognizing their heavy historic responsibilities, the leaders of our countries will be able, leaving aside trivial susceptibilities and all other objective considerations, to show imagination and wisdom and to demonstrate in their actions the friendship and brotherhood which must always characterize relations between the Algerian and Moroccan peoples.

With a view to the realization of that aim, which finds its natural place in the thousand year-old history of the Great Arab Maghreb, Algeria solemnly proclaims once again that it is fully prepared to put those noble ideals into practice.

(Signed) Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA

Member of the Political Bureau
Minister of Foreign Affairs

F 935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/13023
11 January 1979
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

LETTER DATED 10 JANUARY 1979 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF MOROCCO TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Moroccan Government immediately made the above in this matter known in a communiqué issued on 12 December 1978, categorically denying the Algerian charges.

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter dated 9 January 1979 addressed to you by H.E. Mr. M'Hamed Boucetta, Minister of State in charge of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco, which I would request you to circulate as a Security Council document.

seeking thereby to distract Algerian public opinion from serious problems of a domestic nature. But when Mr. Boucetta, the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs, sent you a letter dated 21 December 1978 containing the same accusations which the Algerian press has been repeating for days, in a veritable drive to whip up hysteria.

(Signed) Mohamed Saleh ZAIMI
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

I should now like to reiterate, on behalf of the Moroccan Government and in the most formal terms, our categorical denial of the accusations by the Algerian authorities concerning the alleged parachuting of weapons and ammunition from a Moroccan aircraft.

The details given by the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning this matter seem to be taken from some sensational novel.

One can hardly help wondering why the Algerian authorities did not speak immediately, since they claim to have precise details of this operation, such as the exact time the aircraft took off, its point of departure, its flight path, and the names of the persons who allegedly organized the operation in Morocco. The Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs neglected to mention two other pieces of information provided by the Algerian press, namely the registration number of the aircraft and the name of the pilot.

Such gratuitous assertions, which cannot be substantiated by any evidence worthy of consideration, prompt me to ask a number of questions.

How can anyone imagine that a C-130 Hercules aircraft, which is a slow and cumbersome plane, could carry out such an operation 500 kilometres from the Moroccan border without provoking any adverse reaction, when all air traffic over Algeria and the Mediterranean coast is constantly monitored by civilian and military radar units which maintain close surveillance in the area?

Annex

Letter from His Excellency Mr. M'Hamed Boucetta, Minister of State in charge of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco, addressed to the President of the Security Council

The Moroccan Government learnt with the utmost astonishment of the communiqué issued on 16 December 1978 by the Algerian Revolutionary Council, alleging that a supply of weapons was dropped by an aircraft from Morocco.

The Moroccan Government immediately made its views on this matter known in a communiqué issued on 17 December 1978, categorically denying the Algerian charges.

The campaign of deception that was immediately launched, followed by a call for the mobilization of the Algerian people to counter an alleged threat from abroad, enlightened us as to the real objectives of the manoeuvre by the Algerian authorities, who were apparently seeking thereby to distract Algerian public opinion from serious problems of a domestic nature. But then Mr. Bouteflika, the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs, sent you a letter dated 21 December 1978 containing the same accusations which the Algerian mass media had been repeating for days, in a veritable drive to whip up hysteria.

I should now like to reiterate, on behalf of the Moroccan Government and in the most formal terms, our categorical denial of the accusations by the Algerian authorities concerning the alleged parachuting of weapons and ammunition from a Moroccan aircraft.

The details given by the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning this matter seem to be taken from some sensational novel.

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All these gratuitous assertions, which cannot be substantiated by any evidence worthy of consideration, prompt me to ask a number of questions.

How can anyone imagine that a C-130 Hercules aircraft, which is a slow and cumbersome plane, could carry out such an operation 500 kilometres from the Moroccan border without provoking any adverse reaction, when all air traffic over Algeria and its Mediterranean coasts is constantly monitored by civilian and military radar units, which maintain close surveillance in the area?

/...

How could this aircraft be identified with such precision in the middle of the night when, according to information provided by an Algerian police captain at an international press conference on the subject, the few inhabitants of the area near the site of the parachute drop were allegedly awakened by the low-flying plane but could not see it? One of them was said to have set out on foot to alert the nearest security forces. At the same press conference, the Algerian police stated that there had been no arrests because no one had come to pick up the packages of weapons and ammunition, and that search operations the very next morning, including overflights of the area by helicopter, produced no results.

It was not until 20 December 1978 that the Algerian press agency issued a report that, during the night of 10/11 December 1978, immediately after the parachute drop of weapons over Cape Sigli, the security forces had arrested a group of persons, thus flagrantly contradicting the statements made by the Algerian police.

How could it be that the flight path of the aircraft was followed from the time of its departure but the Algerian air force took no action, when even Moroccan civil aircraft are not permitted to fly over Algerian territory?

This attitude of the Algerian Government reveals once again its resolute desire to undermine any attempt to secure peace in the region and confirms its intention of actually aggravating the tension which it has created there and which it is constantly stirring up with the aim of extending its hegemony beyond its borders.

The Moroccan Government condemns these accusations, which are obviously completely groundless.

Morocco, true to its age-old traditions and the standard of ethics governing relations between States, could never engage in such conduct.

On the contrary, it is Morocco that has constantly had to endure and denounce the repeated acts of aggression committed against it from Algerian territory, such as that perpetrated on 30 September and 1 October 1978 (A/33/284).

On the contrary, it is Morocco that has constantly had to complain of the financing and arming of groups of men by the Algerian Government, within its territory and in the vicinity of Morocco's borders, for the sole purpose of committing acts of armed aggression against Morocco's national territory, thus infringing its sovereignty.

The Moroccan Government most categorically condemns the intolerable conduct of the Algerian Government, one of whose objectives is to discredit Morocco and distract attention from the continual aggression it is committing against it.

The Moroccan Government counts on your wisdom and authority to thwart the Algerian manoeuvres and to ensure that an end is put to the acts of aggression of all kinds committed by the Algerian Government and that the countries of the region may at last enjoy a time of harmony and peace.

(Signed) M'Hamed BOUCETTA
Minister of State in charge of
Foreign Affairs and Co-operation

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

RESTRICTED

U.N./POL

P 935/28/2

DATE 10 January 1979

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862/98/1

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CLASSIFICATION.

RESTRICTED

SUBJECT. WESTERN SAHARAVal → 21 Jan 79 UN P.L.
3/12

There was an apparent blockage in contacts and negotiations between the Mauritanian Government and Polisario leaders at the end of last year - claimed by the latter as a unilateral decision by the Mauritians but subsequently denied by them with an indication that contacts were in fact continuing at an unnamed African capital (almost certainly Tripoli). The decision of Mauritania to vote alongside Morocco both in the Fourth Committee and the Plenary of the UNGA in opposing the resolution on the Western Sahara was also the subject of bitter comment by Saharaoui spokesmen since it in effect endorsed the Polisario/Mauritania cease-fire.

2. The outlook for negotiations has, however, since taken a turn for the better following the Mauritanian expression of sympathy on the death of President Boumediene and their decision to send the Foreign Minister to attend the funeral ceremony where he was warmly received (see our M.AL444 of 2 January 1979). The advice that the Foreign Minister of Morocco also attended was not correct. There was some confusion about the on/off nature of Moroccan representation and in the end it seems that in the face of Algerian reticences no official Moroccan delegation came to the obsequies although there were some opposition Moroccan elements who were accorded special status.

3. A more important development in relation to the Western Sahara dispute was the warm New Year message issued by the Mauritanian President Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek in which he declared his support for "the inherent right to self-determination of peoples" and his country's commitment to peace negotiations "with an open spirit" ready to listen to whatever could stop the fratricidal division of the Maghreb. His Information Minister made a statement going a little further in promising an end to hostility to Algeria and affirming Mauritania's complete sovereignty to decide its relations with its neighbours, an aside directed to Morocco.

4. The Algerian response to these overtures has been strongly positive. The acting President M. Bitat replied in a statement published in the official Algerian media on 5 January. After expressing his appreciation for the condolences and other gestures of Mauritanian sympathy M. Bitat commented that although diplomatic relations had been broken on the initiative of the Mauritanian Government, Algeria had received the Mauritanian delegation at

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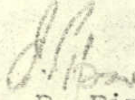
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the President's funeral. The statement continued:

"This decision confirms that our confidence remains intact as regards your declared intention to give a faithful imprint and sincere impulsion to the "dynamic of peace" which you had wanted to initiate on 10 July throughout the Maghreb region in respecting the national aspirations of the Saharan people".

5. The message concluded by referring to Algeria's efforts in promoting the dialogue between the legitimate Saharan representatives and the Mauritanian Government and saying once this problem was resolved they would find Algeria even more than in the past, in accordance with President Boumediene's wishes "a country open to the immense promises of a bold policy of brotherliness, co-operation and good neighbourhood". M. Bouteflika sent a similar message to his Mauritanian homologue.

counterpart?


(J. A. D. Piper)
Ambassador

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935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
GENERAL

A/RES/33/31
21 December 1978

Handwritten signature

Thirty-third session
Agenda item 24

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On the report of the Fourth Committee (A/33/460 and Corr.1)

33/31. Question of Western Sahara

A

The General Assembly,

Having considered the question of Western Sahara,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,

Having considered the relevant chapter of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1/

Having heard the statements on the subject of Western Sahara, including the statements by the representative of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, 2/

Recalling the conclusions of the 1975 United Nations Visiting Mission to Western Sahara, 3/

Recalling the advisory opinion delivered by the International Court of Justice

1/ A/33/23/Add.3 and Corr.1, chap. IX.

2/ A/C.4/33/SR.22, paras. 78-93, and A/C.4/33/SR.30. See also A/C.4/33/L.22 and L.31.

3/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), vol. III, chap. XIII, para. 11.

on 16 October 1975 4/ on the question of Western Sahara, particularly in relation to the principle of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination,

Bearing in mind the profound concern of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned countries regarding the decolonization of Western Sahara and the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination,

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977 regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

Recalling the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 5/

Taking note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc committee of Heads of State to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara, including the exercise of the right of the people of that Territory to self-determination, 6/

Reiterating its fervent hope that, by the time of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the Organization of African Unity will have found, pursuant to the resolutions and decisions which it adopted at its thirteenth, 5/ fourteenth 7/ and fifteenth 6/ ordinary sessions on the question of Western Sahara, a solution to this problem in accordance with the right of peoples to self-determination set forth in resolution 1514 (XV),

Welcoming the unilateral cease-fire decision taken on 12 July 1978 by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, with a view to promoting a drive towards peace in Western Sahara,

1. Reaffirms its commitment to the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence;

4/ Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12. For the note of transmittal to the members of the General Assembly, see A/10300.

5/ See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

6/ A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

7/ A/32/310, annex II, AHG/Dec.110 (XIV).

3. Reaffirms the responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the decolonization of Western Sahara, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration;

4. Requests the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to keep developments in this matter under active review with a view to the full and speedy implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and to report thereon to the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session;

5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to keep the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Organization of African Unity concerning Western Sahara;

6. Invites the Secretary-General to submit a report on the question of Western Sahara to the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

81st plenary meeting
13 December 1978

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 and 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960,

Recalling its relevant resolutions and those of the Organization of African Unity concerning the question of Western Sahara,

Considering the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its thirteenth ordinary session, held at Port Louis from 2 to 6 July 1976, to hold an extraordinary session devoted to the question of Western Sahara, 8/

Considering also the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, to establish an ad hoc committee of Heads of State to consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara, 9/

8/ See A/31/136-S/12141, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.81 (XIII). For the printed text, see Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976.

9/ A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

Recalling the part of the Political Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, relating to Western Sahara, 10/

Taking note of the appeal addressed to States Members of the United Nations by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, 11/

Recalling its resolution 32/19 of 11 November 1977, regarding co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity,

1. Takes note of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its fifteenth ordinary session to establish an ad hoc committee of Heads of State;

2. Expresses its confidence that the ad hoc committee will consider all the data on the question of Western Sahara with a view to convening an extraordinary summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity;

3. Invites the Organization of African Unity to take prompt action to find a just and equitable settlement of the question of Western Sahara;

4. Appeals to all States in the region to refrain from any action that might impede the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to arrive at a just and peaceful solution of the problem.

5. Requests the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the results achieved by the ad hoc committee and invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to report thereon to the General Assembly.

81st plenary meeting

13 December 1978

10/ A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.

11/ See the letter dated 7 November 1978 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan (A/33/364).

⑦ 9.3.5/28/2

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CENTRAL REGISTRY
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DATE. 20 December 1978

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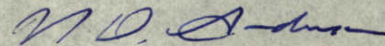
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1667


SUBJECT. WESTERN SAHARA

Attached for your information is copy of a self-explanatory letter received from the Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations.



(H.D. Anderson)
Permanent Representative

ENCLOSURES ATTACHED





PERMANENT MISSION
OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
245 EAST 47TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

N° 578A/1279/78

December 15th, 1978

Mr. Ambassador and Dear Colleague,

With reference to the vote on resolutions concerning the Western Sahara, which took place in the Plenary on December 13, 1978, the Government of Morocco has noted with great satisfaction the favourable vote cast by your Representative in favour of Resolution A/33/31B.

On this occasion, I can assure you that this friendly gesture and understanding of Morocco's viewpoints regarding this question will further develop and strengthen the amicable ties which so happily exist between our two Countries and Missions.

Please accept, Mr. Ambassador and Dear Colleague, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Abdellatif Filali
Ambassador
Permanent Representative



H.E. Mr. H. D. Anderson
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative of Australia
to the United Nations
New York

(F) 935/28/2



UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



Distr.
LIMITED

A/C.4/33/L.22
29 November 1978
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH/SPANISH

Thirty-third session
FOURTH COMMITTEE
Agenda item 24

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

QUESTION OF WESTERN SAHARA

Statement made by Mr. Tinguiri Mansour Omar of the Frente Popular
para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO)
at the 22nd meeting of the Fourth Committee on 21 November 1978 1/

1/ Text circulated in accordance with the decision taken by the Fourth Committee at its 22nd meeting, on 21 November 1978.

79-03803

I should like first of all to thank you for having allowed our delegation to participate in the discussion at the current session of your Committee.

We take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and the other officers of the Fourth Committee.

The admission of a delegation of the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) to the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly is evidence, if evidence were needed, of the interest of the United Nations in the struggle of African peoples still under colonial domination.

The fact is that the fate of this African Territory, which is the victim of a colonial invasion, is inherently linked to that of the other parts of Africa which are still under colonial domination, and the fate of the Saharan people is inseparably linked to that of the other peoples of Africa - this continent whose struggle the international community must support in recognition of the sacred right of self-determination of peoples.

The heroic struggle being waged today by the Saharan people, under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO, to bring about the defeat of a cynical colonialist undertaking is but the logical historical extension of the other struggles of the peoples of Africa and of the rest of the world for the recovery of their national sovereignty and the restoration of their legitimate rights.

It is also a fact that the criminal expansionist invasion of Western Sahara by Moroccan and Mauritanian troops is simply one of the last manifestations of colonialism, in a new guise but a guise which is assuredly no less evil than other forms of foreign occupation.

The fate of this criminal undertaking will be that which history inevitably reserves for adventures of this kind.

The King of Morocco and his accomplices have set themselves against the course of history and have made a fatal mistake in believing that it is still possible in the late twentieth century to subjugate a people against their will.

Indeed, Africa, whose history is marked by heroic struggles against oppression and colonial occupation, cannot allow an African people to be dominated today even as a result of the colonialist aims and adventures of two African States.

Freedom is one and indivisible. What is valid for the Mauritanian and Moroccan peoples who have suffered under colonialism is equally valid for the Saharan people, unless a double standard is to be applied.

The attachment of our continent to freedom and respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination is a constant - thanks to which, moreover, Mauritania has been and continues to be defended against Moroccan expansionist aims by all the African States.

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Unfortunately, however, we see that the former Mauritanian régime had a short memory when it agreed to join Morocco in a criminal act aimed not only at preventing an African people from exercising their sacred right to self-determination and independence but also at perpetrating an act of genocide against them.

The so-called Madrid Agreement is not only a crime against the Saharan people but also a slap in the face for Africa and the international community inasmuch as the true purpose of the agreement is to jeopardize the peace and stability of our continent. For Morocco and its accomplices the attempt to exterminate the Saharan people and occupy their fatherland is merely a first step towards attacking Africa at its most vulnerable points and thereby putting it to fire and sword, embroiling it in the process of challenging existing frontiers.

Fortunately Africa, in its political maturity, embodied in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sacred principles in accordance with which the boundaries existing at the time of the attainment of independence by the countries concerned must be recognized as their State frontiers.

Every African State is therefore bound to uphold the provisions of the OAU Charter, and this constitutes an unprecedented supplement to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly. Thus a genuine international positive law binding on all States came into being as a result of the convergence of the will of the United Nations and the will of OAU to protect and uphold the right of peoples to self-determination and to territorial integrity in the face of colonialism and expansionism.

By virtue of this right, every State must refrain from any action which might in any way prejudice the inviolability of the frontiers inherited from colonization. States also have an obligation to assist peoples still under colonial domination to regain their full sovereignty.

Any attitude or conduct which is at variance with this will be considered an unacceptable violation of a sacred rule of law and an attack on all that had been won in several centuries of struggle by the peoples to attain their freedom. It would therefore be an affront to humanity as a whole.

In disregard of this right, the parties to the so-called Madrid Agreement, in violation of every international moral standard, have tried to occupy Western Sahara and to exterminate its defenceless people.

It will be recalled that the Saharan people, through their sole and legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO, have declared the so-called agreement null and void.

The international community, for its part, has been no less categorical in deciding, by means of numerous resolutions, that the whole question of the

decolonization of Western Sahara remains a colonial problem and continues to be the responsibility of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and of the General Assembly.

The position of the United Nations is legitimately based on the elements of the existing situation, which can be summed up as follows:

Western Sahara is a territory under Spanish colonial domination, having fixed frontiers with Mauritania and Morocco which have been recognized and sanctioned by the most clearly worded international treaties.

This territory has an owner: the Saharan people, whose legitimate sovereignty cannot be impaired by the presence of Spanish colonialism, for sovereignty is an objective element and constitutes an imprescriptible bond between the social element and the geographical or natural element. This is, in other words, the essence of sovereignty as recognized by international positive law.

The attributes stemming from this sovereignty endow all peoples with the inalienable and irresistible right to defend themselves against occupation, from whatever quarter.

As in all colonial situations, the United Nations has proceeded to take practical action involving study and the gathering of information in Western Sahara, thereby enabling the international community not only to seek the fullest possible information but also to verify all the facts of the situation.

A United Nations Visiting Mission, led by eminent diplomats and international civil servants, of the highest political and moral calibre, was sent to the Territory in May 1975. 2/ The report of that Mission requires no explanation.

You will bear with me if I recall some of the provisions of that report for the benefit of those who are suffering from narrow-mindedness or political myopia. On its visit to the Territory the Mission noted that the people had expressed themselves in favour of independence and rejected the territorial claims made by Mauritania and Morocco.

The Frente POLISARIO, which had been considered a clandestine movement before the Mission's arrival, appeared as the dominant political force.

This conclusion should have been sufficient in itself to frustrate the expansionist designs of Morocco and its accomplices, even if the International Court of Justice had not, a few days later, given its Advisory Opinion which, no less eloquently, stated that the Saharan people must exercise their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV). I quote: 3/

2/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/10023/Rev.1), chap. XIII.

3/ Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 64, para. 162.

"... on the other hand, the Court's conclusion is that the materials and information presented to it do not establish any tie of territorial sovereignty between the territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity. Thus the Court has not found legal ties of such a nature as might affect the application of resolution 1514 (XV) /of the General Assembly of the United Nations/ ... and ... of the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory".

In the light of these instruments and of the legitimate claim of the Saharan people to independence, the General Assembly reaffirmed the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take all necessary steps to help our people to defend their right to self-determination and independence, while the Security Council gave notice to the expansionists to refrain from any action liable to threaten peace and stability.

In this international context, the Secretary-General dispatched a mission on 30 March 1976, headed by Ambassador Rydbeck, to arrange for the implementation of the resolutions of the international bodies in question.

You will remember how the rebels treated that mission. The criminal Governments of Rabat and Nouakchott acted contrary to the obligations incumbent upon them as Members of the United Nations and decided unilaterally to circumvent the action of the United Nations by a military invasion of Western Sahara.

The presence of Moroccan and Mauritanian expansionist troops in certain parts of Western Sahara constitutes a deliberate act of rebellion against any international action. Thus Rydbeck's mission was purely and simply prevented by the colonialist Moroccan and Mauritanian authorities from having access to the Saharan areas which their troops were occupying.

The authorities of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, however, spared no effort to assist the emissary of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the discharge of his mission. We can only express our stupefaction at finding that there is no mention of the events surrounding this mission in the documents, reports or other material transmitted to the Fourth Committee, or prepared by its secretariat.

We therefore request that the report of the mission led by Ambassador Rydbeck should be transmitted to your Committee at the current session.

The absence of this document creates an inexplicable distortion of the substance of the case.

Analysis of the case in its present form will be meaningless if this document is not brought to the attention of the members of the Committee.

We are sure that you can guess its importance and the extent to which it will enhance the presentation of the case. Failure on the part of your Committee to

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take cognizance of it would prejudice the struggle of our people and would constitute a breach of the obligation of the United Nations to maintain its integrity and impartiality.

In its resolution 32/22, the General Assembly remained true to the vocation of the United Nations with regard to decolonization, specifically in connexion with Western Sahara.

The reaffirmation of the right to self-determination and independence of the Saharan people (para. 1) and the request that the Special Committee should keep the question under review (para. 4) are evidence of the will of the United Nations not to yield to the policy of fait accompli but to do our people justice.

The invitation (para. 5) to the Secretary-General to report to the thirty-third session of the General Assembly reflects the legitimate concern of the international community that its resolutions should be implemented, it being understood, of course, that it is the responsibility of the executive organs to monitor the situation and to ensure, in particular, the just and correct implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The purpose of the General Assembly, on the achievement of which the resolution requested the Secretary-General to submit a report, is, of course, the safeguarding of the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence.

The Fourth Committee must act consistently with its decisions and assess the extent to which they are implemented.

For one thing, it must seek to determine what has been done since previous sessions to protect the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence. Above all, the United Nations organs must make the study which this tragic situation warrants, with a view to identifying the obstacles and difficulties that have prevented the Organization from effectively assuming its responsibilities and determining the responsibilities of the aggressors.

The truth of the matter is that the expansionist régimes in Morocco and Mauritania are flouting the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and are taking advantage of the inadmissible inertia displayed by the Organization.

The expansionists' challenge to the international community is a direct threat to the survival of the Organization, for if Member States themselves are not obliged to respect their own commitments, in particular as concerns sacred principles, the United Nations will become a hollow shell and will inevitably lose credibility, especially among peoples struggling for liberation.

Such a situation would also represent a precedent of unquestionable gravity and danger for the other African Territories still under colonial or racist domination.

Our concern is all the more obvious and legitimate at a time when Africa is experiencing one of the most difficult phases of decolonization, characterized by the tragic situations in southern Africa and Western Sahara.

The United Nations must respond to the State terrorism practised by the expansionist Moroccan and Mauritanian forces in Western Sahara by taking vigorous action in keeping with its responsibility towards a small nation which is the victim of aggression and mass murder, for otherwise the international community will have to share in the tragic consequences of the adventure of the King of Morocco and his accomplices.

The Saharan people, for their part, are more determined than ever to fight under the leadership of their sole and legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO, to complete the liberation of their fatherland from colonial occupation. It is in this context that the Armée de libération populaire Saharaouie (Saharan People's Liberation Army (ALPS)) is daily waging a fierce struggle against the occupation forces. Our valiant army's achievements are known to all, because, as you are aware, the Frente POLISARIO has the indisputable merit of bringing to the attention of the international community, through dozens of journalists who visit us daily in the liberated areas and in the combat zones, proof of the ability of the Saharan people and of its People's Liberation Army to take up the challenge posed by expansionism. The size of the areas in which the Saharan people are consolidating their positions is constantly being increased by the addition of newly liberated areas. The aggressors' positions in the occupied areas have become smaller and smaller and their forces are being harassed there daily and are suffering extremely heavy losses. It is no secret that ALPS holds the initiative in the field on both the northern and southern fronts.

The territorial integrity of Western Sahara is one and indivisible and derives from the exclusive sovereignty of the people of the Saharan Republic. Strong in this sacred right and firmly resolved to put an end to the pillage of its riches, the Saharan Republic takes up its responsibilities for the protection of our territorial waters, which are controlled by units of the Saharan navy. Attacks against pirate ships and pursuit of them within the limits of our territorial waters are carried out in self-defence.

Pursuing its criminal action against our people and in the face of the setback it has suffered in its confrontation with ALPS, the Moroccan Air Force is daily and systematically bombing civilian settlements and population centres, causing the most terrible human losses.

Dozens of defenceless old people, women and children are dying each month from napalm burns and bombings, while in the occupied areas concentration camps are filled to overflowing with innocent civilians, and terror alone is their daily bread. The number of privileges, medals and so forth conferred by His Majesty King Hassan II upon his executioners in Sahara is now determined by the

number of crimes committed by each of them against the Saharan population, and the poisoning of water-holes and bombing of livestock are among the practices applied by Morocco in the territory of Western Sahara.

On 6 November of this year our people held demonstrations throughout the entire national territory, including the occupied towns and localities. To suppress those demonstrations, the expansionist executioners massacred many dozens of people, and 800 others, including women and children, are dying today in the invasion army's prison cells.

Another scheme, no less dangerous, is now being concocted, that is, the settlement of Moroccan families in Western Sahara. This procedure, reflecting one of the most cynical classical manifestations of colonialism, is being used at this very time when an atmosphere favouring United Nations action in Western Sahara is making itself felt. The King of Morocco, realizing that the Saharan people are unanimously in favour of independence and against the expansionists, is embarking upon a new phase of an adventure aimed at creating artificial or pseudo-Saharans. This is an extremely serious situation to which we wish to draw the attention of the international community, and we urge the Fourth Committee to take the measures necessary to thwart this manoeuvre, which at the very least has the effect of placing stumbling blocks in the way of international action in Western Sahara to prevent international organizations from carrying out their responsibilities with respect to the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence.

Camps for training in the behaviour and way of life of the Saharans are actually being organized in the southern part of Morocco and then moved to Western Sahara where they will be exhibited when the time comes. But His Majesty the King of Morocco should know that he is not fooling anyone but himself.

The Saharan people will rise to this challenge.

The fact is that we cannot remain idle in the face of this new terrorist aggression against our country, even though it has taken an unusual and special form.

This manoeuvre, aimed as it is at disarming the vigilance of the international community, must be combatted by the United Nations, which must require the colonialist and expansionist régime to remove the Moroccans it has introduced into Western Sahara.

The obviously hopeless attempts of Morocco and its accomplices over the years to play down the magnitude of this genocidal war, if not to deny its very existence, are an abuse of the good faith of the international community. They call to mind the policy pursued by the Moroccan Government and the deposed Mauritanian Government when they asserted before the international community that

the claim that there was a war was pure invention. What they claimed was pure invention was ultimately the ruin of one of those countries and caused the downfall of its Government, and it is now driving the other country to the brink of the abyss, thus reserving for it the sad fate of its accomplice, Ould Dadah.

Truth has thus ultimately triumphed over lies and attempts to justify a fait accompli. The steadily increasing importance and scope of this war of liberation and the resistance of our people show that Morocco and Mauritania have undertaken a criminal adventure the failure of which is inevitable, and that they are plunging our region into a colonial war against an African people.

Yet it requires only a minimum of common sense and clear thinking to recognize that Morocco and Mauritania, countries which nature has not greatly favoured and which are therefore obliged as a matter of priority to wage a struggle against underdevelopment, should have invested for the prosperity of their peoples the hundreds of millions of dollars criminally spent on this unjust war. This is all the more serious because the funds and humanitarian gifts provided by the international community and by States individually in order to assist Morocco and Mauritania in dealing with social and economic difficulties have been diverted to the purchase of war matériel, while innocent people are suffering from the consequences of drought and the weakness of the labour market. Even more serious is the fact that taxes to support the war have been imposed on the modest incomes of employees in the public and private sectors, and a contribution in kind to the war effort by the most impoverished citizen is obligatory (we refer you to various financial laws of Morocco and Mauritania enacted from 1975 to 1978).

This is the harvest reaped by the Mauritanian and Moroccan peoples from the war.

This war against the Saharan people for which the King of Morocco and his accomplices bear the responsibility is inevitably ruining the aggressors themselves without enabling them to accomplish their ignoble purpose of colonizing the Sahara. On the contrary, the Saharan people, mobilized unanimously behind its sole and legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO, is consolidating its resistance and strengthening its political and administrative authority in the liberated areas.

The adventure whose inevitable outcome is that which history reserves for colonial and expansionist expeditions (the situation now prevailing in Mauritania is proof of this) and the recklessness with which the King of Morocco persists in his mistaken course will inevitably lead Morocco to the same disastrous situation.

Finding themselves unable to occupy Western Sahara, the enemies have called upon their military allies, and our people are being obliged to fight on several fronts against forces armed with the most sophisticated and destructive weapons.

Hundreds of civilians have been killed by napalm bombs and sulphur gas and our people are continuing to be confronted with this criminal action.

But regardless of invasion alliances, the struggle of the Saharan people is irreversible and will continue until our country has been completely liberated.

If the policy of military alliance aimed at exterminating our people in their own country is not brought to an end the Saharan Republic, which is a sovereign State, will, as such, have no other alternative than to call for assistance and to adopt the policy of alliance in order to defend itself against this aggression.

The recent developments in the situation call for certain explanations, clarifications and fuller information in order to remove all ambiguity, misunderstanding or confusion.

The involvement of the expansionists in this war of aggression and genocide against our people has led to a new phase in Mauritanian affairs since Ould Dadah's régime was overthrown on 10 July 1978.

The new Mauritanian leaders have recognized that this war is unjust and that it has furthermore reduced Mauritania to bankruptcy. Thus Mauritania can no longer continue the war.

The Government of the Saharan Republic, always ready to assume its historical responsibilities and eager for a return to justice, peace and stability in the area, has decided unilaterally and provisionally to call for a cease-fire in Mauritania, whose troops, nevertheless, are engaged side by side with the Moroccan troops in a criminal enterprise aimed at exterminating the Saharan people.

This historic decision demonstrates the will of the Saharan State not only to assist the Mauritanian people in extricating themselves from a war which fundamentally is not their own but also to achieve peace with Mauritania based, naturally, on mutual respect for the national independence and territorial integrity of each of the two countries. We must observe, however, on the basis of the meetings at the level of our two Heads of State at Tripoli in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 18 October 1978 and negotiations at the ministerial level in Paris and Bamako, that the desire for peace expressed by the Mauritaniens conceals ulterior motives.

While the Saharan Government has consistently been striving to encourage a process of peace, the Mauritanian Government is working to maintain and prolong a situation which not only forces the Saharan people to continue enduring the tragedy of Moroccan-Mauritanian aggression but also gives Mauritania time to reorganize its forces in order to pursue in even more sanguinary fashion the extermination of our people and the occupation of our fatherland. The attitude of the Mauritanian Government obliges us to conclude that it wishes simply to extricate itself from the war without making peace. To ignore the atmosphere of peace in this way is irresponsible and clearly reflects Mauritania's desire to resume hostilities. Furthermore, it is no secret that since July the Mauritanian Government has been engaged in a mass army recruitment campaign and has been concentrating its troops in the occupied parts of Western Sahara.

The Saharan Government, consistently making fraternal appeals to the Mauritanian Government, has adjured it to assume its responsibilities before history. We have, inter alia, drawn the attention of the Mauritanian Government to the fact that its attitude is essentially one of taking a calculated risk and constituted a volte-face against peace.

Thus, instead of encouraging the efforts of the Frente POLISARIO to achieve peace, the Mauritanian Government is doing everything in its power to disrupt the lull which now prevails in the area.

The pressure to which it claims it is being subjected cannot serve the Mauritanian leaders as an excuse for failing to respond to the peace initiative of the Frente POLISARIO. The fact is that the Mauritanian leaders are continuing their alliance with Morocco in the aggressive adventure against the Saharan Republic, which can only serve to encourage the Moroccan King's obstinate rejection of peace, and are taking advantage of his isolation now that an atmosphere of peace between the Saharan Republic and Mauritania is emerging.

Morocco, whose diplomatic isolation, particularly in Africa, has been intensified by the developments in the situation in Western Sahara, is attempting to sabotage any peace effort by using Mauritania as its scapegoat.

But the astonishing thing is that Nouakchott does not yet seem to have learned a lesson from the unnatural alliance with Morocco into which it has entered in order to commit aggression against the Saharan people.

The Mauritanian Government should know that the King of Morocco remains obstinate and is desperately and vainly clinging to his erroneous course. As long as Morocco enjoys the complicity of Mauritania it will continue to pursue its ill-considered policies, rejecting all peace efforts and thus encouraging the continuation of the war, which can only culminate in its internationalization, the responsibility for which will fall upon the Moroccan and Mauritanian aggressors.

The international community is doubtless weighing the significance and the gravity of this situation and should, in accordance with the duty incumbent upon it, take appropriate measures to induce the Moroccan and Mauritanian rebels to put an end to this crime aimed at the genocide of a people, the consequences of which will put a whole African region to fire and sword. The international community should above all confront Mauritania with its responsibilities in order to take advantage of the dynamics of peace created by the Frente POLISARIO. These dynamics, if duly appreciated by Mauritania, could be the framework for a true process of disengagement from the war and a return to a real and viable peace.

The Government of the Saharan Republic has always supported and continues to support the international community's efforts to put an end to this fratricidal war. The heroic struggle of the Saharan people, in the course of which they are sacrificing and will continue to sacrifice what is dearest to them, is a legitimate struggle, for its purpose is the assertion of a sacred right, a right that the international community recognizes for all peoples, a right whose protection is one

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of the paramount aims of the United Nations. The Saharan people are no different from any other, and you cannot deny them what is valid for each of the peoples of the international community that you represent. Just as the United Nations has the duty to help all people to decide their own fate in accordance with the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), so must it protect the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence and take up the challenge hurled by the Moroccan and Mauritanian aggressors at the international community and at international morality.

At its fourth General People's Congress, held at Oued Nasr (Liberated territories) from 25 to 30 September 1978, the Frente POLISARIO reaffirmed its determination to defend its absolute independence, while at the same time committing itself to a policy of good-neighbourliness with the other countries of the region. The Saharan Republic is an incontestable reality, achieved by the Saharan people with the blood of their martyrs. Consequently, the decisions of the Congress - the "Shahid Sidi Ould Haidoug" Congress whose theme was "The struggle for independence and peace continues" - provide an answer to any plans and manoeuvres aimed at mutilating Western Sahara's independence by means of formulations that the Saharan people will never accept.

The Congress considered the following conditions and principles as the basis for any just and lasting solution to the conflict that has been raging for three years between us and our neighbours in Morocco and Mauritania:

- (1) Recognition of our people's national sovereignty over the whole of their territory and respect for their legitimate rights to self-determination and independence;
- (2) Recognition of the territorial integrity of our fatherland, in accordance with the principle of respect for the historic frontiers of our country, inherited from the colonial period and internationally recognized;
- (3) Respect on the part of our neighbours for the principle of the non-use of force in their relations with our people and non-interference in their internal affairs;
- (4) Respect on the part of our neighbours for the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Congress reiterated that our struggle is a liberation struggle for national independence and does not seek to bring about the collapse of foreign régimes; thus our struggle is directed against the policy of aggression and expansionism of which our sovereignty and territorial integrity are the targets, and it will continue tirelessly until the complete and total liberation of the last inch of territory of the Saharan Republic.

The Congress asks of the new Mauritanian Government:

- (1) Official recognition of the Saharan Republic's sovereignty over the whole territory of Western Sahara;

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(2) Restitution to the authorities of the Saharan Republic of the part it occupies;

(3) A pull-back of Mauritanian forces to their country's internationally recognized frontiers (as of 1960).

The sovereignty of the Mauritanian people would be illusory if it were asserted at the expense of the Saharan people; similarly, Mauritania's independence and its very existence depend to a large extent upon the independence and existence of the Saharan people, given the fact that the Moroccan régime has expansionist designs on all the peoples of the region and especially the Saharans and Mauritaniens, on whom it has always cast covetous eyes.

To persist in denying our people's inalienable right to freedom and independence, and to refuse to respond to their unequivocal desire for a real and just peace based on mutual respect for sovereignty, is to pursue stubbornly and dangerously the colonialist invasion of our country, Mauritania being one of the States which have sought to replace the Spanish colonialists by assuming responsibility with all its consequences.

The Mauritanian leaders speak of peace, but their attitude implies that to them this means the peace of the grave for the Saharan people, a serious miscalculation which was at the root of the old régime's collapse. Surely the experience of three years of war shows that such aims can only founder when confronted with the will and the capabilities of the Saharan people.

As for Morocco, which is still pursuing its blind and irresponsible policies, the international community must force it to recognize the current lull and cease its aggression against the Saharan people, for by keeping troops in the occupied areas and bringing Moroccan settlers into Western Sahara it shows that it intends to carry on with a policy of intransigence and rebellion against the international community.

The Saharan people are fighting in self-defence against a foreign occupation, and the aggressors' criminal attitude leaves them no choice but to struggle for survival.

The tactic of the martyr El Ouali Mustapha Sayed of bringing the war to the enemy is an established fact and a legitimate right of the Saharan people. To push back the enemy and weaken his positions, ALPS has been operating in Moroccan and Mauritanian territory - as regards Mauritania, up until the month of July.

To hide their weakness and their inability to prevent our people from successfully combating their aggression, the expansionists have chosen the policy of throwing dust in people's eyes so as to mislead international opinion and distort the nature of the conflict; a very familiar colonialist policy.

This is actually the only basis for the repeated accusations voiced by the King of Morocco against the countries of the region. ALPS is operating within Morocco and will continue to do so against military objectives as long as the Moroccan army is not withdrawn from the occupied areas in our country.

For our part, we are convinced that the international community is tired of Morocco's policy of make-believe and falsification, which does not really fool anyone but its own authors.

The question of the decolonization of Western Sahara, which, objectively speaking, is before the United Nations, is also the responsibility of Spain, the administering Power, as long as the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence remains unprotected. As we pointed out above, the criminal act of 14 November 1975 is a betrayal of the Saharan people by the former Spanish Government. Spain's responsibility derives, as you know, from General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and from the Charter, in particular Article 73 e.

The Frente POLISARIO is gratified, however, by the way in which our relations have evolved. The unanimity of our friends the Spanish people in supporting the independence of Sahara reflects the historic and fraternal bonds that have always existed between Spain and Western Sahara, and the fidelity of the Spanish people to their duty and to their friendship for the Saharan people is expressed in the recognition by all their political parties of the Saharan people's right to independence.

The presence of a delegation from the Union del Centro Democratico (UCD), the party of Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, headed by the official in charge of foreign relations, at the Fourth Congress of the Frente POLISARIO held at Oued Nasr in Western Sahara at the end of last September, and the signing a few days later of a joint communiqué between UCD and the Frente POLISARIO, are milestones in the relations between our two countries.

It is our conviction that Spain's orientation toward wisdom and justice will be a determining factor in future contacts between the two countries and a spur to understanding and co-operation on the basis of mutual respect.

This was the background of the meetings held on 11 and 12 October 1978 between a Saharan delegation led by Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Salek, a member of the Frente POLISARIO's Political Bureau, and a Spanish delegation led by Mr. Javier Ruperez, who is in charge of foreign relations in UCD's Executive Committee. I quote:

"These meetings reflect the will of the Spanish side to maintain good relations with the Saharan side, in accordance with the historic relations existing between the Saharan people and the Spanish people, and with their common interests;

"The Spanish delegation has reaffirmed the dedication of the Union del Centro Democratico (UCD) to the cause of the Saharan people's right to

self-determination, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and with resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

"The Union del Centro Democratico welcomes the dynamics of peace created by the Frente POLISARIO, the sole and legitimate representative of the struggling Saharan people, when on 12 July it unilaterally decreed a temporary cease-fire in Mauritanian territory, and has expressed its determination to do everything possible for the restoration of peace in Western Sahara.

"The Union del Centro Democratico believes that any peace in north-western Africa is dependent on respect for the will of the Saharan people and their rights to self-determination and freedom."

This growing and increasingly effective international solidarity, as witnessed by the strengthening and broadening of political relations between the Saharan Republic and other States and political organizations throughout the world, continues to develop.

We take the opportunity to salute those friendly countries and organizations which in this time of severe trial for our people have recognized the Frente POLISARIO and the Saharan Republic.

Another source of encouragement for us in our struggle, and a proof that the international community repudiates the policy of fait accompli and colonial occupation, is the solidarity of the international organizations to which our presence here testifies.

The process of Western Sahara's decolonization, blocked by the aggression of Morocco and Mauritania, falls within the purview of the United Nations, which remains politically and legally responsible for it. That suffices to indicate the extent of the task before you at your current session if you are to go beyond the stage of reaffirming principles, as demanded by the gravity of the situation, the legitimate aspirations of the Saharan people and the duty of the United Nations.

The context in which the thirty-third session is being held is more favourable than ever for the adoption by the General Assembly of a decision on the action to be taken and the implementation of that decision by the Secretary-General.

The Fourth Committee must above all take into account the new elements, namely, the developments in the field since the month of July and the growing importance which the Saharan people's struggle is taking on, at both the international and national levels.

Not only will any resolution adopted at the thirty-third session defending right and justice in the case of the Saharan people contribute immeasurably to the

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search for the political solution which we desire, but it will also, above all, spur progress on the matter at the level of other international organizations.

The Organization of African Unity, which has refused to capitulate to the aggressors' policy of fait accompli and thus has supported the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence, has always held the United Nations responsible for the decolonization of Western Sahara. This position is expressed in the resolution adopted at the fifteenth regular session of the Heads of State and Government of OAU /held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978/ on the question of the Saharan people's struggle for their independence. ^{4/} Far from wanting to take the place of the United Nations, or disputing its responsibility in the case, the Heads of State in paragraph 7 of their resolution indicate specifically that the case is already before the United Nations. As you are doubtless aware, a summit meeting of Heads of State is the highest forum: no other OAU body can take its place. Any action to the contrary would be an inadmissible abuse of prerogatives and a barely disguised manoeuvre to prevent the United Nations from assuming its responsibilities concerning the Saharan people's right to self-determination and independence.

Another source of encouragement for us in our struggle, and a proof that the international community recognizes the policy of self-determination and independence of the Saharan people, is the solidarity of the Saharan people with the Front Polisario at the Congress of the Front Polisario held in Western Sahara at the end of last September, and the signing of a joint communiqué between UCD and the Front Polisario, are milestones in the relations between the two countries.

The process of Western Sahara's decolonization, blocked by the aggression of Morocco and Mauritania, falls within the purview of the United Nations, which remains politically and legally responsible for it. That is why we are to go beyond the extent of the task before you at your current session if you are to go beyond the state of reaffirming principles, as demanded by the gravity of the situation, the legitimate aspirations of the Saharan people and the duty of the United Nations. The context in which the thirty-third session is being held is a more favourable one than ever for the adoption by the General Assembly of a decision on the Western Sahara and the implementation of that decision by the Secretary-General.

^{4/} See A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.92 (XV).

FILE NO. 935/28/2

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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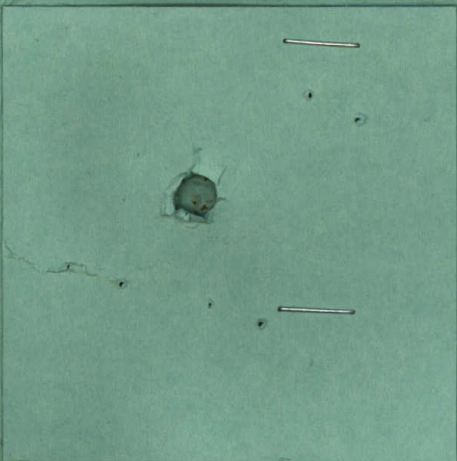
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